Territories, fortresses, and shifting towns: archaeological landscapes of the Upper Casamance (Senegal), 7th-19th C.

Sirio Canós Donnay

Institute of Archaeology
University College London

April 2016

Thesis submitted to University College London
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DECLARATION

I, Sirio Canós Donnay, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract :

The Upper Casamance, in southern Senegal, is a region that has witnessed dramatic socio-political changes in the last millennium, including its conquest by the Mali Empire and its prominent role in the Atlantic trade. Yet, until now this region had never been the object of systematic archaeological study. Two seasons of fieldwork undertaken in 2013 revealed a landscape of shallow, short-lived sites at odds with the large permanent towns described by historical accounts and oral traditions. I argue in this thesis that the key to reconciling these two sets of evidence lies in a very particular settlement pattern, which I have named 'shifting sedentism', by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters, while keeping the name, identity, and institutions of the community intact.

Drawing from archaeological data derived from regional survey and the excavation of two sites (Payoungou and Korop), combined with oral traditions, historical documents, and ethnographic examples, this thesis pursues two main themes. First, it documents the previously unexplored archaeological record of the region, both in terms of sites and of material culture, connecting it with known historical narratives, and comparing it with other geographically and culturally relevant areas. Secondly, it explores this notion of shifting sedentism and the different site mobility patterns that have characterised the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, as well as their political and social implications.

I suggest that the intersection of these multiple sources illuminates a social and political landscape much more complex than that suggested by any individual source. A landscape characterised by shifting yet permanent towns, fixed sacred sites, and fluctuating military strongholds; whose mobile yet resilient dynamics have shaped the Upper Casamance's history over the last millennium.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Kevin MacDonald, my MA and PhD supervisor. Over the last few years, Kevin has been a kind and supportive mentor; his constructive advice and vast archaeological knowledge have made this thesis into what it is. Prof. Andrew Reynolds, my second supervisor, has also been a key part of this process: his theoretical sharpness and non-Africanist perspective have been a great source of inspiration and ideas. I would also like to thank Prof. Peter Mitchell, who first introduced me to African archaeology, and without whom I would have probably followed a very different –and undoubtedly less exciting– path.

This research was made possible by the funding of the AHRC and the British Federation of Women Graduates; funding for fieldwork came also from the Institute of Archaeology and the Graduate School at UCL, the Worshipful Company of Art Scholars, and the Tweedie Fund at he University of Edinburgh.

Interpreting the archaeological record of the Upper Casamance and its multiple dimensions required of some skills I did not possess, and many people have helped me navigate this complex world with their expertise. Thanks must go to Kat Manning, Adrian Timpson, and Jorge de Torres for the help with the ceramic analysis statistics; to Kevin MacDonald and Nick Gestrich for the faunal identifications; to Lina Campos for the metallurgical analysis of the slag; and to Jamie Inwood for the skeletal analysis of the Payoungou burial. I am also grateful to François Richard for the assistance in the identification of European imports and to Cameron Gokee for the bibliographical help. Liza Gijanto kindly gave me access to her collections, and hosted me in one of the nicest campuses I have ever been to.

At the Library of Congress, in Washington D.C., Mary Lou Reaker and Travis Hensley helped me find my way through paperwork and the complexities of the system. The Kluge Centre was a most amazing place to work; made even better by great people like Arun Sood, Birte Buchmann, and Joe Ryan, who also added a unique Bavaro-Glaswegian touch to the experience.

In Senegal, I am deeply grateful to Ibrahima Thiaw and Hamady Bocoum, who welcomed me at IFAN and provided much needed guidance and assistance in organising the two field seasons. Thanks must also go to Seydou Camara at the

IFAN lab and to Dabo Mafouze at the Museum for the practical help; and to Cyr Descamps in Gorée for helping me find all the documents on the Payoungou cannon. In the field, Thierry Baldé, archaeology MA student at UCAD, and Boubacar Diao (driver-turned-digger) made an incredibly hard-working and enthusiastic core team, without whom this research simply would not have been possible. I am also grateful to Dello Balde, *jarga* of Mampatim Maoundé; Moussa Sane, *jarga* of Payoungou; the late Bokar Balde, *jarga* of Korop; and their families, who kindly hosted us during the two field seasons. In both our host communities and in the rest of villages visited during the project, we encountered many kind, knowledgeable, and generous people, who took the time to answer our questions and show us around. While I do not have enough space to cite them all here, special mention must go to el-Hadj Ibrahima Diallo (aka Gallé Tailleur) from Mampatim Maoundé, whose help and knowledge were invaluable. To all of them I say: *albarka*! *diarama buy*!

Back in London, the Institute of Archaeology has been my home for the last six years, and I could not have hoped for a better one. In particular, I would like to thank the wonderful people at G7b, past and present: Oli Boles, Andy Brown, Paul Burtenshaw, Jonny Gardner, Nick Gestrich, Beatrjis de Groot, Barney Harris, Ahmed Mekhawy, Tina Paphitis, Paul Tourle, Sanja Vucetic, and all the others. I honestly do not know how I would have managed to write PhD without such an amazing group of people around.

I am also deeply grateful for the support of my friends from the world of archaeology and beyond, who helped me keep my sanity throughout these years. Santi González and Israel Hinojosa –Ishiba– , have two of the strangest and most wonderful minds I know, capable of connecting things nobody else could. Víctor Barba and Moisés Hernández, have been a regular and much welcome presence in the midst of the London chaos. I am also grateful to the great people of 15M London, who saved what was left of my Spanish, and gave me back the hope of fighting for a better country to go back to.

At the Institute and beyond, Anna Panagiotou has been a fundamental part of my London life: her wisdom, kindness, and wit are equal to none, and much missed when not around. Richard Bater is not just one of my best friends, but also a bottomless source of theoretical and geographical knowledge. Life in the UK would not have been as good without him.

Els darrers agraïments són per als de casa: a Macar i Amparo per ser dues de les persones més bones i generoses que conec, a més d'unes madrines espectaculars. A Jordi Sánchez, per fer Oxford possible, amb la seua paciència i correccions. A la meua iaia Vicenteta, i al meu iaio Jerónimo que ja no hi és, però del que queden molt bons records i històries. Amb ells vaig gravar les primeres històries orals d'un passat, que com al Senegal, cal conèixer per entendre el present. A Clara Mestre, Mº Jesús Franch, i la resta de professor(e)s de l'IES Sos Baynat per ajudar-me en un projecte que en aquell moment devia parèixer a totes llums un despropòsit. A les imprescindibles de la JOSC, Neus, Paula, Marines, Roser, i Altea, que duen anys demonstrant que l'amistat no coneix de distàncies ni fronteres. A Irene, que és el més paregut que tinc a una germana, i que a pesar de les seues múltiples ocupacions, sempre troba temps per passar amb mi. I als de sempre: Marina, Mariona i Jordi, als que veig molt menys del que m'agradaria, però que cada volta que torne em fan sentir com si seguirem veient-nos tots els dies. A pesar de tots els anys fora, tornar a Castelló és sempre tornar a casa, i si és així és per tota la gent que m'estime i que m'estima.

Finalment, als meus pares, Mara i Jeroni, sense els que res d'açò no haguera sigut possible. Per ensenyar-me a pensar i a raonar; per l'entusiasme compartit i els suministres gastronòmics. Per les històries, els viatges, i les discussions; gestionar el món és molt més fàcil quan la curiositat, l'esperit crític i la 'il·lusió els dus posats de casa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction:

This thesis explores the evolution of the landscapes of power and settlement during the last 1500 years in the Upper Casamance, through a combination of archaeology, oral traditions, and historical accounts. Today one of Senegal's most underdeveloped regions, the Upper Casamance has over the last millennium witnessed the rise and fall of multiple states and empires, and has been at the centre of of some of the key processes in West Africa's history. Originally inhabited by the Bainouk (according to oral traditions), the region was incorporated in the 13th C AD into the wider Mali Empire. Kaabu, as this part of the empire came to be known, flourished under Manding rule as one of its most important states and its main link with Atlantic trade networks. Kaabu's political and economic success was such that it outlived the collapse of the Mali Empire by three centuries, lasting up until the late 19th C, when a combination of internal and external problems, most notably a Fulbe revolt, put an end to Manding rule. From this collapse, emerged the Fulbe state of Fulaadu, which controlled the Upper Casamance up until the full colonial conquest of the region at the beginning of the 20th C.

Despite its historical importance, however, the archaeology of the Upper Casamance has never been systematically studied. This lack of prior knowledge represented a challenge, for all chronologies and baselines had to be built from scratch; but also an opportunity, as it meant this construction could be done without some of the problematic conceptual baggage of earlier approaches. An important part of this groundwork was acknowledging, and making use of, the multiple historical sources available and the different perspectives they embody, to construct a more plural, multi-vocal, understanding of the past.

As any work based on multi-disciplinary fieldwork, the information presented in the many pages that follow is necessarily quite diverse. Despite this diversity, however, two main thematic threads run across the thesis, connecting the different materials, scales, and processes discussed. The first one is mobility which, both at the site and regional levels, is a defining trait of the Upper Casamance's history. The second is power, and in particular its political manifestations and their materialisation at the site and landscape levels.

This first chapter describes the basic framework and structure that the rest of the thesis will follow. I start by discussing the research questions that it aims to

answer, followed by an evaluation of the tools and methods used to answer them, including their advantages and limitations. Finally, I present the outline of the thesis, and discuss the different aspects covered in each of the chapters and the links between them.

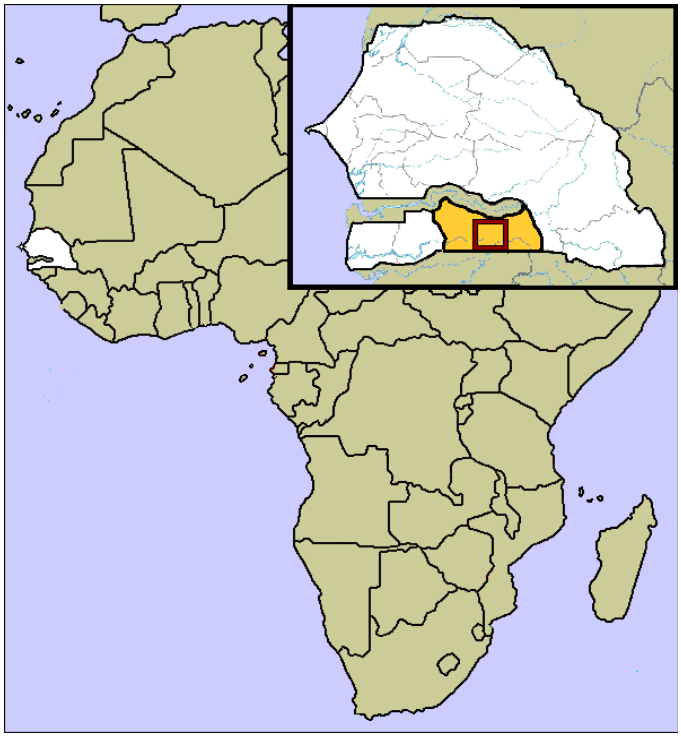


Fig 1.1- The Upper Casamance (yellow) and this project's research area (red)

1.2 Objectives and Research Questions

This study aims to effect a contribution at two different levels. At one level, the goal is to document the archaeology of this so far unexplored area, and to compare it with that of other areas of the former Mali Empire, and of West Africa as a whole. This involves recovering basic information about site types and material culture, building the archaeological baselines for the region, and contrasting the information obtained with that available from other historical sources. The main objective is to set the factual bases for future research to build on, as well as to provide an initial analysis of the region's connections with surrounding areas and their historical and sociopolitical implications.

The second research question is of a theoretical nature, and concerns the relationship between political power, territory, and mobility. While oral traditions

and historical accounts describe this region as characterised by stable states and permanent towns, its archaeological landscape is defined by the shallow, transient nature of the sites. I will argue that the key to reconciling these two apparently contradictory sets of evidence lies in a very specific settlement pattern, which I have called 'shifting sedentism', by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters while keeping the name, identity, and institutions of the community intact. Using archaeological data derived from survey and excavation, combined with oral traditions, both collected during fieldwork and available from publications, as well as historical documents and ethnographic and archaeological examples, I will explore this pattern of 'shifting sedentism' and the implications it has for our understanding of the history of the Upper Casamance, as well as for the relation between statehood and mobility more widely. More specifically, I will address the following questions:

- What are the defining characteristics of shifting sedentism, when did it first emerge, and how has it evolved over time?
- How does it relate to political structures in the region and the changing balances of power over the last millennium?
- What can we learn about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, as well as about their archaeological traces?

1.3 Fieldwork: tools and methods

The methods devised to answer these questions were primarily shaped by the need to develop an initial archaeological baseline for the region, a framework that would facilitate future research, but also flexible enough to accommodate and readjust to new data. At the same time, I also wanted to overcome some of the traditional culture-historical limitations of many of such frameworks, by building an analytical structure capable of recognising the complexities and the multiple voices that participate in the construction of the past, while maintaining the necessary objectivity to derive sound, reliable, and grounded conclusions.

While the conceptual fabric used in this construction will be further explored in Ch.2, and the specific methodologies employed for each of the sources with be described in detail in Ch. 5 and 7, a brief analysis of the different elements of fieldwork and their contributions and limitations is provided here. Fieldwork

consisted of three separate elements:

Survey

The study covered an area of approximately 70x50km, from 13º 09' to 12º 41' N in latitude, and from 14º 36' to 14º 02' W on longitude. Given the lack of prior information on the archaeology of the region, village-led survey (i.e. based on local knowledge), was deemed the most time-effective method of exploring the region. Thus, the last section of each interview dealt with the presence of historical sites around the village, and was followed by a visit to the mentioned locales. Although efficient and practical, this approach presented a major drawback: the difficulty of assessing the representativity of the results. To correct this deficiency, a week-long systematic control survey had been planned at the end of the first five weeks of village-led work. Unfortunately, this plan had to be abandoned in light of the reduced sight visibility and terrain difficulties present. Consequently, while highly informative on the nature and diversity of the sites present in the region, the survey also presents substantial limitations which will be taken into account when drawing conclusions from it. A more detailed discussion of the survey, the methods employed, and their limitations will be undertaken in Ch. 5.

Excavations

Two sites, Payoungou (N12.71593,W14.06689) and Korop (N13.13799, W14.45015), were chosen for excavation. Located at opposite corners of the research area, and about 60km from each other as the crow flies, they were selected because of their size, historical importance, surface evidence, and associated oral traditions; but also to provide a useful comparison due to their different geographical locations and political histories. We opened seven units in Payoungou, and five in Korop, ranging from 2x3m to 4x5m. The location of the units was based on a variety of criteria, including geographical spread across the site, associated oral traditions, and surface evidence. While the shallowness of the deposits allowed for opening more units than was originally planned, which contributed to a better understanding of the sites' nature and evolution; the lack of complete/long sequences complicated the establishment of integrated site chronologies. These had to be constructed through the combination of the different

'snapshots' provided by each unit.

Oral tradition interviews:

A total of 32 interviews were conducted with elders in 25 different villages. They uncovered a great diversity of traditions, which on the basis of format and content can be grouped into three different types: oral histories, village foundations, and epic narratives. Oral histories are generally defined as eyewitness accounts that occurred during the lifetime of the informant (Vansina 1985, 12-13). In this case, I extend the concept to include events narrated to the informant by the person who lived them. The reason behind this extension is that these one-step-removed narratives are more similar in form to direct experiences than to any of the other types of traditions. Oral histories thus-defined cover approximately the last 150 years. Although undoubtedly subjective and ideological, they are the type of narrative most likely to include detailed factual accounts of events, as the chain of transmission is shorter. Additionally, they allow for cross-checking, as different versions of the same events are available from members of different interest groups involved.

Village foundation narratives, on the other hand, include events occurred during living memory, but their narrative style and perspective are very different from that of oral histories, as orders of arrival have profound power implications and are critical political tools. Formally, all foundation narratives collected follow the same structure: the founder, (generally a hunter/warrior/two brothers) left his original village in order to found his own. The reasons for leaving the initial village are rarely stated. For recent foundations, the origin of the founder is quite precise (generally to the village level), but the further back in time the foundation goes, the vaguer the origin gets. At some point during his travels, the founder(s) encounter(s) a marabout, a dog, or a djinn, that reveals a prosperous location for the new village, and settlement follows. Foundation narratives inevitably end with a list of *jarga* up to the present day, and an enumeration of the groups that joined the village during this period. In the vast majority of cases, however, these foundation narratives cover only the last two centuries, or the period in which the current group in power arrived at the village. Even when previous occupations are known to the current populations, they are not mentioned in village narratives unless explicitly asked about them.

Finally, epic accounts are grand stories centred around a warrior hero, and follow an episode-based structure. The origin of these stories are in most cases griot performances attended by the elders, and occasionally local *tarikhs* (see next section) consulted by the most historically-inclined members of the community. In addition to the biases and limitations of this sort of narrative (discussed in the next section), the elders' versions of these epics are substantially more patchy than the griotic ones, as they result from casual rather than formal peer-reviewed learning processes.

As will be explained in Ch. 4, in all but seven cases I chose to conduct group interviews, rather than individual ones. This choice was dictated by both practical reasons (it facilitated the organisation, socially and logistically) and information-output (elders could complement each other's memories, and trigger new ones by engaging in discussion). Nevertheless, group dynamics also presented some negative aspects, derived mainly from unequal power relations, such as older men with not much historical knowledge stopping more knowledgeable but younger members of the community from speaking, but this was the exception rather than the norm. Women were often present, but rarely intervened, with one notable exception (Int. 30), in which an elderly woman took the leading role in narrating the village's history. Consequently, the view of history presented was in the vast majority of cases a male and gerontocratic one.

1.4-Other sources

Although the Upper Casamance's history has been markedly under-researched in comparison to other areas of the Senegambia, there is a substantial number of useful primary sources, including explorers' accounts and indigenous oral traditions, as well as a handful of historical syntheses combining both with different levels of critical appraisal. Each of these sources provides a unique insight into the past, with different perspectives, agendas, and biases. In this section I review the different available sources for each of these categories, as well as their potential contribution, advantages, and limitations.

Archaeological sources

Before the current project, the only available information on the archaeology of the Upper Casamance came from a single book: Jean Girard's 1992

L'or du Bambouk : une dynamique de civilisation ouest-africaine. In it, Girard, an anthropologist resident in the Casamance, describes his inquiries (with the aid of the head of the local Catholic mission) into an eclectic mixture of archaeological and anthropological phenomena. Of particular interest is his focus on the subterranean structures and rock shelters locally known as *guide*, as well as on sacred shrines or *dyalan*. Using the contact network of the Velingara Catholic mission, Girard identified and visited 76 sites, which he divided into 'troglodytic inhabitations' (further subdivided into rock shelters, sites excavated into the rock, and subterranean caches), wells, basins, defensive basins, 'bucket marks', polishing marks, quarries, and standing stones. Out of these, he excavated the 'subterranean cache' of Kandiama, for which he obtained four radiocarbon dates, 1540 bp ±180 (AD 346-747), 640bp ± 380 (AD 1670-1796), 900 ± 170bp (AD 986-1276), and 1460bp ±160 (AD 406-766). Nevertheless, as Girard (1992, 10) himself recognises, the work at Kandiama is better described as a clearance of sediment than as an excavation, with no stratigraphy beyond a rough separation into high, middle, and low. It is therefore unclear where exactly the dated charcoal came from, which makes the dates problematic. In addition to the dated charcoal, an unspecified number of pottery sherds and an iron arrow point were also found (Girard 1992, 9-17).

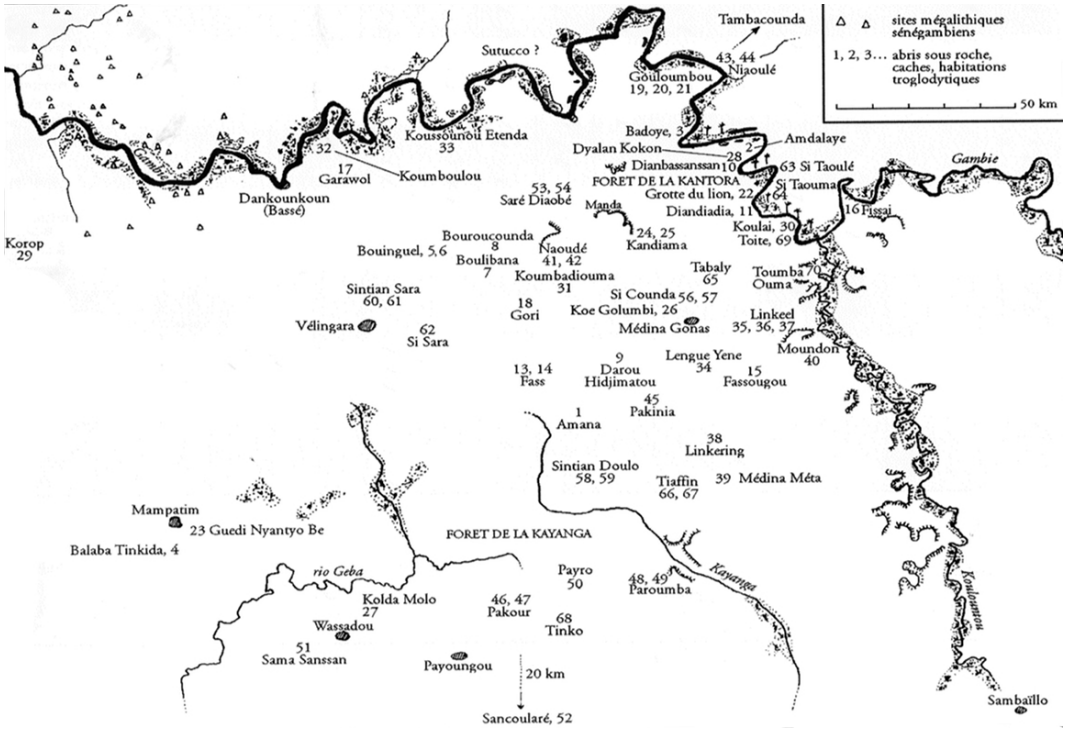


Fig. 1.2 Map of sites documented by Girard. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

Despite its unsystematic nature, Girard's book does contain some relevant information. First of all, its list of sites, with names and associated oral traditions, is useful as a partial inventory of certain types of sites in the region, contributing to our understanding of the nature of the Upper Casamance's archaeology and its diversity. Secondly, his extensive collection of oral traditions, although unsystematic (sources are rarely cited and his methodology is unclear), contains some very interesting fragments, and provides an index of how much elder-based traditions have changed in the last twenty years.

Beyond the Upper Casamance, several projects deserve mention, either because of their geographical proximity, or because of their cultural affiliation. Geographically speaking, the closest reliable archaeological studies are those of Senegambian megaliths (Holl *et al*. 2007; Laporte *et al*. 2012), the Siin-Salum (Richard 2007), the lower Falemé area (Gokee 2012), and the Gambia. For the latter, the work of Liza Guijanto (2007, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) on Niumi, and Amy Lawson on Niani (2001, 2003a, 2003b) is particularly relevant due to their coverage of 1st and 2nd millennium Manding polities associated with, and at times part of, Kaabu.

To the south of the Kolda region, Guinea-Bissau remains largely unexplored archaeologically. The one and only exception to this is the limited work on the Nhampasseré cave and its surroundings undertaken by Amílcar de Magalhães Mateus in 1953 as part of the *Missão Antropológica da Guiné* (Cardoso 1992; Mateus 1953; Mateus 1954; Rodrigues 2012; Soares Poloni 2012, 155-6). Additionally, several colonial publications report isolated findings of historical objects, like a cannon at Pirada (Grãndao 1947), and highly elaborate iron staffs from Sumacunda, Kankelefa, Bafata, Dandum, and Farim (Teixeira da Mota 1960). More recently, two archaeological surveys have been conducted in the Farim and Cacheu areas, but none of them have been published (Ibrahima Thiaw *pers.comm;* Douglas Park *pers. comm*). To the east, the Kedougou area in Senegal was briefly surveyed by Raymond Mauny (1963), but the project's documentation is vague at best.

In terms of wider cultural affiliations, I will draw from archaeological projects dealing with the wider Mali empire as well as other 19th C Fulbe states. Regarding the former, I have taken into consideration the excavations at Timbuktu

(Insoll 1998), Gao (Insoll 1997; Takezawa & Cisse 2012), Jenne-Jeno (McIntosh 1995a), Dia (Bédaux *et al* 2005), Sorotomo (MacDonald *et al* 2009-2011) and Niani (Filipowiak 1966, 1970, 1979). In relation to the latter, the most useful material came from the excavations at Hamdallaye (Mali), capital of the Fulbe State of the Massina (Gallay *et al* 1990; Mayor 1996a, 1996b, 1997).

The main problem regarding archaeological data is the scarcity of material and limited comparative potential. As will be discussed in Ch. 8, ceramic analyses have only recently begun using similar terminologies that make a comparative endeavour possible. Limited and partial publication of sites is also a problem, as is the prevalence of site-focused approaches with very limited information about landscape and regional structures. But even with these limitations in mind, some comparisons are possible (see sections 8.6.3 and 10.2.4), which should shed light on correspondences and disparities between sites, regions, cultural groups, and political entities.

West African written sources

In a region where history was orally transmitted and written documents were extremely rare, almost all written sources are by European and Arabic explorers, traders, and soldiers. The one exception to this rule are the three known indigenous *tarikhs* or chronicles, the most famous ones being the 17th C *Tarikh al-Soudan (*Es-Sadi 1964) and *Tarikh-al Fettash* (Kati 1913), both of which contain descriptions of the wider Mali Empire. The only published *Tarikh* specifically addressing Kaabu's early history is that of Bijini in Guinea-Bissau, of which two published versions exist (Caroço 1948; Giesing & Vydrine 2007). A short summary can also be found in D.T. Niane's *Les Mandingues de l'Ouest* (1989, 195-8) and in other work by the same author (Niane 1981). This *tarikh* includes a collection of traditions regarding the origins and final demise of Kaabu, most likely compiled after the foundation of the town of Bijini in the 1850s (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 39). It is partly written in Mandinka with an alphabet based on Arabic graphics, partly in Arabic with regional particularities. It includes three manuscripts: the Tarikh Bijini, the Tarikh Mandinka, and the Tarikh Tiramakan. The current manuscript is controlled by the Baayoo (Bagayoko) and Kasama (Jaabi) families, and can be traced back to the 19th century. The tarikh Bijini begins with the first Fuutanke invasions in Kaabu at the time of the imams Timbo and Labé at the end of the 18th

century and ends at the beginning of the colonial era with the resconstruction of Bijini (1884) after Musaa Molo's attack (Giesing & Vydrine 2007). The authors define themselves as 'migrant muslim Mandinka' (in opposition to their 'hosts', who were 'Mandinka Soninké'.

Additionally, there are references in the literature to other Manding *tarikhs* in the villages of Cuntubuel, Diabicounda, and Kamboré (Niane 1981, 1; Niane 1989); and the elders from Sare Pate Bouya mentioned another one in Soumacounda (Int. 14), but none of these have been published. Finally, there are a few Fulbe manuscripts that narrate the fall of Kaabu from the Fuuta Djallon point of view. Niane (1981, 1) describes one such manuscript in Kamboré (Guinea-Bissau) and another complete version can be found in Diallo (2009).

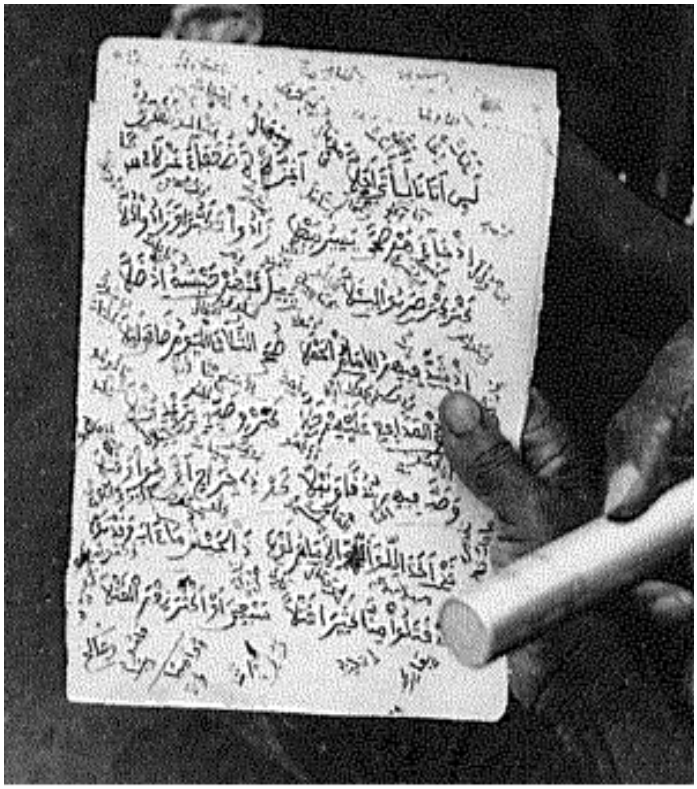


Fig.1.3 Tarikh from Kamboré. Reproduced from Niane 1989

Arabic and European sources

Arabic and European sources go significantly further back in time, and can be divided into three main periods with distinct levels of geographical knowledge: 11th-15th C Arabic authors associated with the trans-Saharan trade, 15th-19th C merchants and military officers, and colonial accounts. From the first reference to Mali in 1068 by the geographer Al-Bakri (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 82) to much more detailed accounts such as Al-Umari's (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 267-74) and

Ibn Al-Dawadari's (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 250-1) descriptions of Mansa Musa's visit to Cairo in 1324, or Ibn Battuta's chronicle of his 1341 stay in Mali's royal court (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 289-97), these sources provide highly relevant information about the Mali Empire as a whole, but do not specifically mention the Upper Casamance or Kaabu.

This situation changes with the arrival of the Portuguese to the coasts of West Africa. In 1446, a Portuguese expedition under the command of Nuno Tristao reached the Gambia and Geba rivers for the first time. Their journey, described by Zurara (1841), Gomes (1959), and De Barros (1778), did not end well, as the majority of the crew members, including the captain, died when their caravel was attacked by the warriors of the 'Nonimans' (i.e. the *mansa* or king of Niumi) (Teixera da Mota 1947, 319). Niumi was one of the tributary areas or 'provinces' of Kaabu and thus Tristao's account provides the first indirect reference to Kaabu in written texts. As the Gambia was gradually explored, more of these tributary kingdoms (Kantora, Niani, Wouli) came to be known to Europeans, as reflected in the writings of Diogo Gomes (1959 [1485]) and Eannes de Zurara (1841 [1481]). The first direct reference to Kaabu comes from Pacheco Pereira in the early 16th C (1954 [1506], 106-7), and is soon followed by more detailed accounts describing the *farim Cabo's* (king of Kaabu) rule over the Gambian kingdoms and his tributary condition to the emperor of Mali (Almada 1964 [1594], 70; Donelha (1977 [1625], 118).

Although this period is overwhelmingly dominated by Portuguese writers, three significant exceptions are also worth mentioning: Richard Jobson's *The Golden Trade* (1968 [1623]), a first hand account of life and trade along the Gambia; Olfart Dapper's *Naukeurige beschrijvingen der Afrikaensche gewesten* (1686), and André Brue's 1697 account (1723, 267). It is important to bear in mind, however, that none of these authors, whether Portuguese or otherwise, ever set foot in the Upper Casamance. All their information comes from what they could gather in the kingdoms along the coast, and in particular from the southern bank of the Gambia and the traders they met there. This fact was recognised even by the explorers themselves, as reflected in the words of the 18th C military officer Prunneau de Pommegorge:

> *'on ne connoîtra jamais l'intérieur de l'Afrique; car, n'en déplaise à messieurs ni géographes, tous les royaumes qu'ils placent sur leurs cartes y sont placés au hazard, parce que personne s'y a jamais été, si ce n'est dans le haut de la rivière du Sénégal & de Gambie, parce qu'elles sont navigables, & que par-tout ailleurs il est impossible d'avoir des connoissances de l'intérieur du pays au loin, parce pour y aller il faudroit traverser tant de différentes nations, souvent barbares, que les blancs qui seroient assez intrépides pour entreprendre d'y voyager, seroient certains d'avoir le col coupé avant d'y arriver'* (Pommegorge 1729, 150)[1]

A good measure of the extent of actual knowledge of the interior is provided by the level of detail of maps, which confirms de Pommegorge's observations. As shown by Fig. 1.4, while the areas along rivers and the coast become increasingly populated with names and features from the 16th C onwards, the Upper Casamance and other interior zones remain largely empty until the onset of the colonial period. Even Kansala, the last capital of Kaabu, which features prominently in oral traditions, does not appear in cartography until Bertrand Bocandé's 1849 map, where it is shown as a region, rather than a town. In addition to the reasons outlined by de Pommegorge, a significant factor that needs to be considered is secrecy. As Lopes (1999, 37) points out, geographical knowledge was a highly valuable asset in the establishment of trade routes, and therefore not something to be disclosed lightly, which also helps to explain the paucity of detailed sources for this period.

Nevertheless, despite the limitations posed by this combination of secrecy and actual lack of knowledge, the information contained in these documents, if contextualised and critically assessed, is still one of the best resources we have to understand Kaabu's organisation over this period, especially for its riverine provinces.

1 'we will never know the interior of Africa, for even if it displeases gentlemen and geographers, all the kingdoms they place in their maps are placed at random, for nobody has ever been there, other than at the mouth of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, which are navigable, and anywhere else it is impossible to have knowledge of the interior of the country from the distance, since to go there it would be necessary to cross so many different nations, often barbaric, that the whites intrepid enough to undertake such trip, would be certain to have their necks chopped before reaching their destination'

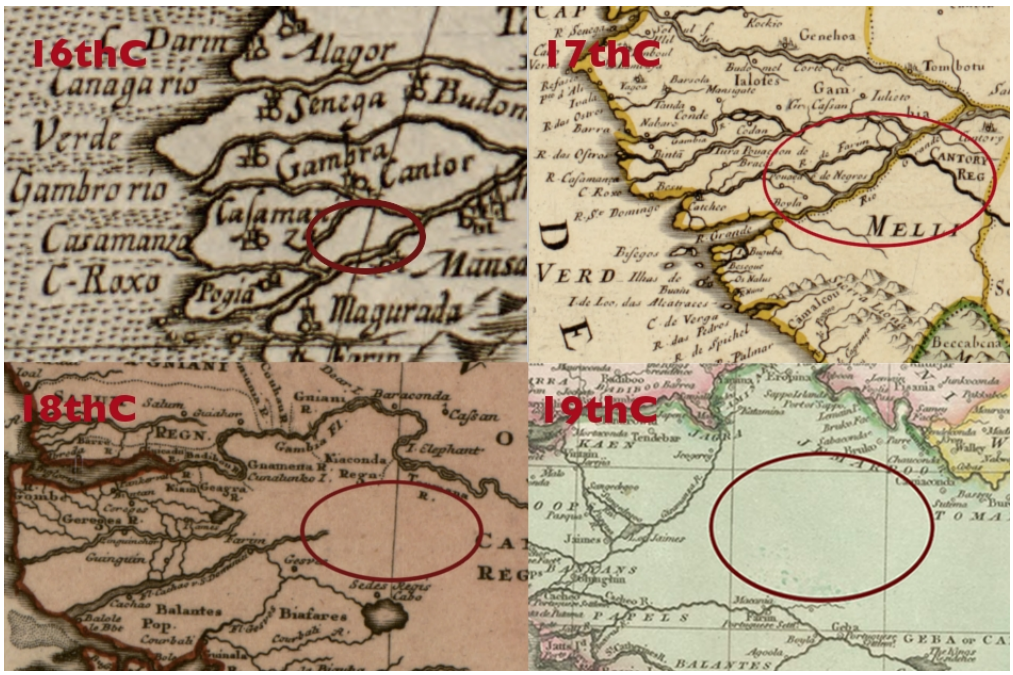


Fig.1.4 Cartographic knowledge of the Upper Casamance (red circle) 16th-19th C. Clockwise from top left: Ortelius 1570, Abbeville 1679, Anville 1743, Pinkerton 1813.

Finally, starting in the 19th C, European, and particularly French, traders and military officials started to increasingly venture inland. From the mid 19th C, the French got heavily involved in the internal wars in the Middle Casamance, but the Upper Casamance was still largely unknown before the 1890s (Roche 1976 , 125-31). From this date onwards, the texts become significantly more detailed, and cover a much broader range of themes than their predecessors. Particularly useful are the documents by Charles de la Roncière (1904a, 1904b) and René Legrand (1912), which describe in detail the human geography of the region in the early 20th C. It is important to bear in mind, however, than from Al-Bakri's 11th C account to colonial documents, all of these texts were written by men from relatively privileged circles, writing from a Euro- or Arab-centric perspective and with preconceived ideas about society and urbanism that undoubtedly affected their interpretations. Additionally, the quality, detail, and reliability of these sources greatly varies, so it is of key importance to place each individual source in context in order to assess its true value and informativeness.

Published oral traditions

Oral traditions are by far the most widely published aspect of the history of the Upper Casamance. The earliest examples appear in the form of short extracts in

travellers' narratives, like André Donelha's 1625 brief version of the *nyanthio* myth of origin (Donelha 1977, 106), but it is not until the colonial period that more extensive versions are published. Coming from both French Senegal (Aubert 1923; Brigaud 1962; Gaden 1912) and Portuguese Guinea (Carreira 1947; Moreira 1948; Vellez Caroço 1948), these texts are useful as indications of the rate of change of these traditions, but present also significant limitations. Most notably, they tend to uncritically combine oral traditions and information from historical texts in order to produce clear univocal syntheses, thus obscuring both the context and the nature of the original sources

Together with independence came a greater interest in indigenous histories, which resulted in an exponential increase in oral tradition publications. Originally rather amateurish, these works have in the last few decades gradually evolved towards an emphasis on integral bilingual versions with all the necessary contextual information. They include three main types of narratives: versions of the Sunjata epic about Tiramakan's conquest of the Senegambia (Girard 1992, 187-200; Lopes 1999, 82-87; Ly-Tall 1981; Niane 1989, 18-26), the *nyanthio* myth of origin about the ruling class of Kaabu (Girard 1992, 201-13; Niane 1989, 40-2; Sidibe 1972), and epic narratives about other heroes, both Fulbe and Manding. Prominent amongst these are texts narrating the deeds of Kelefa Saane (Belcher 1999; Camara 2010 ; Giesing & Vidrine 2007; Innes 1978; Wright 1987), Nalen Sonko (Drame 1970) ; and Alpha and Musa Molo (Bah 1981; Diallo 2009 ; Grandao 1947, 451-2; Innes 1976 ; Mark 2003 ; Sidibe 1984 ; Sidibe 2004).

As usual with oral traditions in West Africa, these tend to focus on the beginning and end of polities, but contain extremely little information on the interim periods. Although an incredibly useful source of information, it is important to bear in mind that these traditions are both accounts of the past and explanations of the present, historical accounts and mythical narratives, socio-political statements and legitimising tools. They are thus subject to both gradual alterations and conscious manipulation, with old and new elements presented together as part of a uniform tradition going back into the mists of time (Conrad 1985).

However, their substantial homogeneity despite their wide geographical spread, suggests some of these myths are not just considerably old, but also have not suffered much modification over time. Furthermore, outstanding coincidences with both archaeology and Arabic accounts reinforce the value of oral traditions as historical sources if used within a critical, comparative framework (Tamari 1991).

Finally, although much smaller than the body of oral traditions, there has been some research done into oral histories in the region (i.e. events directly lived by the informants). In particular, the work of Sylvie Fanchette (1999; 2010; 2011), includes some very detailed accounts of recent population dynamics as described by village elders. Although fairly recent, these accounts are highly informative about settlement patterns during the last century and are useful to understand both the historical trajectory of settlements in recent times, as well as to create models potentially applicable to earlier periods.

Secondary sources

Academic conversations on the history of the Upper Casamance, and particularly regarding Kaabu started significantly later than for the rest of Senegal. The 1972 Conference on Manding Studies included eight papers directly addressing Kaabu (Boulegue 1972 ; Cissoko 1972 ; Innes 1972 ; Knight 1972 ; Leary 1972 ; Sidibe 1972a, 1972b, 1972c). The synergies developed during this congress crystallised eight years later in the International Colloquium on the Oral Traditions of Kaabu, held in Dakar, partly published in a special number of the journal *Ethiopiques* in 1981 (Ba 1981; Bah 1981; Boulegué 1981; Cissoko 1981; Da Mota 1981, Diallo 1981; Galloway 1981; Gravand 1981, Gueye 1981; Kaba 1981; Kouyaté 1981; Ly-Tall 1981; Mane 1981; Mveng 1981; Niane 1981; Niang 1981; Person 1981; Samb 1981; Sane 1981; Wright 1981), partly available elsewhere (Galloway 1980; Phillot-Almeida 1980).

Two syntheses followed in the subsequent two decades : D.T. Niane's *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest* (1989) and Carlos Lopes's 1988 PhD thesis *Les Kaabunké ; structures politiques et mutations,* later published as a book under the title *Kaabunké : espaço, território e poder na Guiné-Bissau* (Lopes 1990). Historiographical interest in Kaabu has since heavily declined, with only one publication (Lopes 2005) in the last decade. There is however a wider literature (e.g. Quinn 1972; or Wright 2010), on the different Manding polities of the Senegambia, most of which were associated with Kaabu at some point. Also useful are the earlier studies from the colonial *Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa (*Caroço 1948; Carreira 1938, 1947, 1961, 1964, 1966, 1983, 1984; de Barros 1947; Grandão 1947; Faro 1957, 1959) discussing a variety of ethnographic and ethnohistorical aspects of Kaabu's Guinean side.

As for the Fuladu period, the most complete source remains Jean Roche's

1976 *Conquête et résistance des peuples de Casamance,* republished in 1985 as *Histoire de la Casamance,* which provides a detailed history of the region from 1850 to 1920. Although significantly shorter and more partial, the writings of Legrand (1912), Ngaide (1999), Quinn (1971), Fanchette (2010), and Sidibe (1984), provide complementary perspectives to Roche's work.

The complexity and diversity of the available sources is apparent. Each dataset has its own limitations and advantages, but if used critically and in combination, the result has the potential to be a rich, plural insight into the history and organisation of the Upper Casamance, necessary to tackle the previously described research questions.

1.5 Chapter Organisation

In this first chapter, I have described the basic framework of this thesis, in particular the research questions addressed, and the methods and sources employed to answer them. In Chapters 2 and 3 I discuss the theoretical and factual backdrops, respectively, for the current research, synthesising the available information and exploring its relevance to this project. Chapter 2 reviews the terminological and conceptual debates that have informed my analytical approach, including debates about the diversity of statehood forms and of their interconnection with space, mobility, and ethnic interactions and negotiations. Chapter 3, on the other hand, summarises the state of the current factual knowledge about Kaabu and Fulaadu, including a review of the different periods, and of the evolution over time and space of aspects like sociopolitical organisation, trade, architecture, religion, or ethnic interactions.

Having described the conceptual and factual frameworks on which this work is based, I proceed to explore how the data collected during the project build on them and contribute to answering the research questions outlined. Given the overlapping and complementary nature of the different data sources, I have chosen to order the information primarily by scale, rather than by source: starting with general principles of regional organisation (Ch.4), moving on to how specific sites fit within them (Ch.5), then addressing patterns of intra-site variability (Ch.6-7), and finally analysing individual artefact categories (Ch. 8-10).

Thus, Chapter 4 explores the different principles and patterns that have structured the Upper Casamance's sociopolitical landscapes over history, starting from the most recent period, and gradually tracing them further back into the past,

through a combination of historical European sources, griotic epics, and ethnographic observations, as well as oral traditions from village elders recorded during fieldwork. Chapter 5 then focuses on the material dimensions of such principles, presenting the results of the surface survey, and exploring their connection with oral tradition narratives.

Chapters 6 and 7 move down in scale to the site level, presenting the results of the excavations in Payoungou and Korop, and their connection with the information available from oral traditions, historical sources, and the landscape perspectives previously outlined. Chapters 8 to 10 continue this progression downwards in scale, by addressing specific materials encountered during both the survey and excavation, including ceramics (Ch.8), faunal remains (Ch.9), and other small finds (Ch 10.) In Chapter 11 I draw together all the different sources, scales, aspects, materials, and processes previously discussed. To conclude, Chapter 12 revisits the original objectives and research questions to evaluate to what extent I have been able to answer them, as well as possible directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL TRADITIONS AND SPATIALITY

Despite being based on an archaeologically unexplored area, my research does not take place in a void. It draws, and aims to build on, a vast literature exploring the diversity of spatial configurations of statehood in Africa and across the world. The pages that follow do not aim to be a comprehensive review of these debates, only a selective and necessarily brief description of their general directions, and where my work fits within them. I start with an overview of some of the key terms employed in these debates, explaining those I will use (or avoid) and why. I then proceed to describe how approaches to statehood have varied in African archaeology and how these debates echo wider concerns across archaeology and the social sciences. These discussions are then complemented with the successive inclusion of two additional factors: space and mobility, considering the dialectical relationship between notions and configurations of landscape, and the power structures which result from, and shape them. I finish the chapter with a brief analysis of issues of ethnicity and how they intersect with the rest of the themes discussed.

2.1 Terminology: Some words on words

As humans, we make sense of the world by classifying it, by dividing the spectrum of things around us into comprehensible categories that group and structure individual phenomena as part of a meaningful whole. Although the biological and social commonalities of human life across space and time result in a certain degree of overlap, different cultures and languages have developed unique systems of classification, each representing a particular worldview. As researchers in the social sciences are acutely aware, words are not just neutral labels, but categories that both describe and structure the world. Consequently, any description of an aspect of a society that is not in the original language, involves both a linguistic and a cultural translation, in which some of the original connotations are lost and new ones added. A possible way out of this is to leave key terms which do not have a direct equivalent untranslated; I follow this strategy to some extent with Pulaar and Manding terms, but this approach cannot be abused lest the text becomes unreadable.

Furthermore, research is not just about description, but crucially, also about analysis. Analysis involves a higher degree of abstraction, which in turn requires

notions not necessarily present in the original language, as well as to connect culture-specific elements to wider, even universal, concepts. The use of specialised terminology and classifications is therefore inevitable, particularly –but not only- if any cross-cultural comparisons are to be made. Yet, it is still a highly problematic endeavour, for as value-free as this terminology claims to be, it often carries culture-specific assumptions (generally Eurocentric ones) with it. Moreover, it is very easy to lose sight of its conceptual analytical nature and use its terms as if they were essentialised realities, thus leading to heated debates about what certain concepts *are* or *mean*, rather than about how best to define them in order to illuminate different aspects of human societies. Nowhere is this more clear than in debates about societal 'types'. The terminological discussion that follows is therefore not one about essences or 'real' classifications, but a study of the different terms available, their conceptual baggages, and how they can illuminate or obscure the institutions and processes studied.

Polity

Polity is a term with a long etymological journey. Adopted into English in the 16th C, from the French *politie,* itself taken from Latin from the original Greek *πολιτεία* (citizenship, government), in archaeology 'polity' has come to designate a politically independent or autonomous social unit, regardless of its complexity and scale (Hall 1996). Although some authors (e.g. Bahn 1992, 403) use the term as synonymous with 'early state', I consider this use unhelpful, as it duplicates terminology unnecessarily. In its first definition, however, 'polity' is a useful neutral term, as it makes no assumptions regarding the nature of the political formations it refers to, and can therefore be used to designate social groupings which do not fit any of the traditional labels, as well as to compare phenomena which would not usually be placed under the same category. On the downside, and precisely for those same reasons, it is also rather vague, and needs to be complemented with descriptions of the nature of the structures and societies involved, if it is to tell us anything about the nature of past social formations.

State

State**,** on the other hand, is more specific, but also carries more problematic baggage. As all other terms with a social-evolutionary origin, it was initially linked to a particular view of cultural development, based on notions of unilinear,

progressive change from simple to complex through predefined stages, carrying strong ethnocentric connotations and value judgements associated to their underlying directional notion of progress. Nowadays, these notions of unilinearity, directionality, and betterment characteristic of social evolutionism have been widely rejected, yet their associated classificatory systems have persisted (e.g (cf. Service 1962). Such persistence is due to the convenience that these types represent as shorthands for more complicated concepts and as facilitators of cross-cultural comparisons, as well as the need to get precise labels beyond those of 'society' or 'polity'. However, separating words from their conceptual baggage is not an easy task and, despite the emphasis on agency, understanding and multiplicity, neo-evolutionism is still deeply rooted in the way archaeologists think about the past (David & Steiner 1999). Furthermore, authors like Smith (2003, 15) consider that 'the State, as an analytical concept, is at best an illusory focus for research that lends coherence and continuity to a disparate set of authority relationships that are highly discontinuous; at worst, it is an instrument of domination in itself', and emphasise 'the critical need to recenter analysis on what polities do rather than what type they resemble' (Smith 2011, 419).

While I agree with Smith's latter statement, I disagree with his assessment of the utility of 'state' as an analytical tool. I believe that despite the previously outlined limitations –and always bearing them in mind–, state is a term worth salvaging as a general label for a variety of socio-political phenomena that share enough aspects to be worthy of a comparative analysis. It is necessary, however, to define it in a way that is narrow enough to mean something, yet sufficiently wide to encompass phenomena across time and space, while avoiding the term's original Eurocentric notions. I therefore use the term 'state' to designate any independent, centralised, and complex political unit, in which complexity is expressed both horizontally (specialisation) and vertically (hierarchy). Other elements, such as a large permanent army or a bureaucracy for record-keeping, which are often part of definitions of statehood (e.g. Scarre 2005, 193-4) are not included, because establishing whether they are common to all forms of statehood should be an outcome of that comparative endeavour, not part of the initial definition.

Empire

From the Latin *imperium* (power to command), this is a word initially used during the Roman Republic to refer to an order or command in general, and to the

power exercised over a community in particular, but which in the Late Republic came to designate Rome's expansive political structure (Morrison 2001, 3). The term has since been used to describe many other polities across time and space, and acquired the wider meaning of expansive polity incorporating multiple states or significant internal diversity (Morrison 2001, 3). As the traditional pinnacle of social evolutionary ladders, 'empire' also comes with problematic baggage and colonial connotations, but like 'state', I believe it is a term worth rescuing, as 'states of states' do have different organisational requirements to unitary ones. In terms of the specific polities discussed in this thesis, ancient Mali was without doubt an empire, and as such is referred to across the literature. As for Kaabu, some authors describe it as an empire (Phillot-Almeida 2011), others as a state (Mané 1981a), or a kingdom (Innes 1972; Ba 1981; Teixera da Mota 1981; Niane 1981b). While I consider Kaabu's structural characteristics to be without doubt those of an empire (if possibly not in size, definitely in terms of internal diversity and organisation), as Mali and Kaabu will be frequently be mentioned together, to avoid confusion I reserve the term 'empire' for the former, and refer to Kaabu as a state or confederation.

Cities and towns

From Gordon Childe's (1950) initial 10-point model for recognising urban phenomena, the question of how to define and identify a city is something that has been a constant feature of archaeological debates. At present two views dominate the literature: a more traditional one, represented by Renfrew & Bahn's (2004, 181) description of a city as a 'large population center with major public buildings, including temples and work places for the administrative bureaucracy'; and Trigger's succinct functional definition as 'unit of settlement which performs specialized functions in relationship to a broader hinterland' (Trigger 1972, 577).

Out of these two definitions, I find the latter more useful and with greater potential for fruitful cross-cultural comparisons. Unfortunately, the data currently available for the Upper Casamance do not allow for a reliable exploration of the relationship between urban and rural, which would make the use of the term 'city' inadequate. I therefore, for now, refer to the most substantial sites as 'towns', and to the smaller ones as villages; basing this separation on regional size scales rather than on any absolute criteria; and with no further assumptions about the function, structure, or composition of the settlements involved.

Kingdom

Although more common in historical than in archaeological texts, I find 'kingdom' a useful term. According to the OED, it refers to 'a country, state, or territory ruled by a king or queen'. As will be discussed in Ch. 4, this resonates very much with Manding and Fulbe conceptualisations of political power and space, in which a political unit is defined by a ruler and a land or territory. The term will therefore be used to refer to the different territories that composed Kaabu and Fulaadu, and whose degree of independence, power, and structure greatly varied.

2.2 The African state : a history of misconceptions.

The first academic attempts at understanding social complexity in Africa, both from archaeological and anthropological points of view, took place during the colonial period. The initially preferred category was 'tribe', conceived as a racially and culturally homogenous collectivity, united by custom, shared descent and a common formative historical experience (Kopytoff 1987). The tribe was essentially presented as the 'embryo' of the nation as defined by Western nationalist ideology, implying primitiveness and bottom of the evolutionary sequence. The first recognition of the existence of historical sociopolitical formations whose complexity went far beyond that advocated by the concept of tribe was Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's (1940) *African political systems*. Based on the study of eight societies, it argued African political systems could be divided into hunting bands, acephalous societies integrated through segmentary lineage systems, and centralised states. Fortes & Evans-Pritchard's study opened a set of long-lasting debates regarding the nature of complex societies in Africa, and led to the publication of multiple other societal classifications over the following decade (e.g. Brown 1951; Bernardi 1952; Smith 1956; Eisenstadt 1959; Easton 1959).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, decolonisation and independence brought about a shift in focus towards indigenous states and empires, as part of the new states' attempt to uncover a past that legitimated their existence and created a rooted common national identity. Coupled with this was an interest in the exploration of 'uniquely African' models of statehood, from Murdock's (1959) 'African Despotism' and Lloyd's (1965) classification system based on the recruitment into the political elite, to Vansina's (1962) five types of African kingdoms (despotic, regal, incorporative, aristocratic, and federations) defined by the degree of centralised control and the principle of political succession. Despite

these theoretical innovations, however, centralised states were still seen largely as the product of outside intervention, ‘a superstructure erected over village communities of peasant cultivators rather than a society which has grown naturally out of them' (Oliver & Fage 1962, 36); whereas decentralised societies were presented as ‘the product of a deep and unchanging past untouched by outside influences, providing ideal staging grounds for building anthropological models about the primitive’ (Cameron-Monroe & Ogundiran 2012, 4).

Although some of the notions explored by these theories, (e.g. segmentary states), have proved to be useful tools for understanding the sociopolitical realities they describe, on the whole these classifications are highly problematic. First, because whether presenting themselves as subdivisions within ethnographically-derived universal societal stage-type classifications or claiming to be uniquely African, these theories shared a rigid adherence to formal and structural-functionalist models, with a strong focus on categorising and classifying that obscured more than it revealed. Secondly, because more or less explicitly, they all carried strong social evolutionary connotations, which at best misrepresented complexity by forcing case studies into directional progress timelines; and at worse justified colonial ideologies.

2.3 From classifying to understanding : the complexity of complexity

Although neo-evolutionary taxonomies of societal evolution have now largely been rejected, their terminology and underlying frameworks are still very much present in archaeological work dealing with 'archaic states' (Feinman & Marcus 1998), 'early civilisations' (Trigger 2003), and 'early complex polities' (Smith 2003), both in Africa an beyond. These 'lingering mental habits' of neo-evolutionism and structural-functionalist political theory (Campbell 2009, 821) have come under heavy criticism in the last three decades. This has involved both a critique of evolutionary terminology and its implications (Campbell 2009; McIntosh 1999; Pauketat 2007; Yoffee 2005), as well as a focus on the *nature,* rather than on the *degree,* of complexity (McIntosh 1998; Stein 2002).

In Africa, archaeologists and historians have brought to light an incredibly diverse array of indigenous African sociopolitical forms, from sedentary hunter-gatherers to nomadic states, and from highly stratified coercive empires to large heterarchical communities (Colson 1969). This recognition of the 'complexity of complexity' (Stahl 2004), has made it clear that while terms like 'state' or 'empire'

can be useful as general labels (and not everybody agrees they are, see Colson 1969, Skalnik 1983, or Smith 2003), the great diversity in organisation, population, territorial configuration, and sources of power within each category makes it imperative to go beyond labelling, and explore how these polities were articulated. In the words of Campbell (2009, 823) 'if we wish to investigate how ancient polities operated (...) we need to understand the *particular* ways in which the relational dialectic of authority was produced and resisted, its sites, its limitations, and the variety of its sources'.

The diversity and multiplicity of the sources of state power has in fact been one of the most discussed topics in African history and archaeology in the last few decades. A particularly important theoretical contribution in this sense is the notion of 'wealth-in-people', which argues that in regions where there is plenty of land available, the real source of power is not control over land or material resources, but control over people (Wright 1999, 416). What defines a person or an institution's power is thus not the territory or the material wealth it controls, but its number of dependents, followers, kin, slaves and other social ties and affiliations, i.e. the human resources it can mobilise (Guyer 1995; 1998).

A different yet complementary perspective is offered by Goody, who argues that differences in the political structures of West African states 'correlated not so much with differences in the ownership of the means of production (nor yet in the objects of production themselves) but rather in the ownership of the means of destruction and in the nature of these means' (Goody 1971, 42-43). As will be discussed in Ch. 3, both the capacity to mobilise human resources, and the threat/action of violence (and in particular raiding) appear to have been key, and intrinsically related, aspects of the articulation and reproduction of power networks across the Upper Casamance's history.

Another relevant topic is the importance of 'alternative' sources of power, such as ritual, ideology and tradition, and the diversity of power spheres and role of age-groups, secret societies, lineages, council elders, and other forms of intra-community organisation. For instance, Adrian Southall (1999), in his study of the Alur, addresses the importance of ritual power as opposed to operational ones, describing how empires can be constructed without recourse to violence, and how ritual centralisation can exist without political centralisation. His concept of the segmentary state' has proven extremely useful in identifying a particular kind of polity that has its basis in ritual, personal, and charismatic authority rather than in

effective coercion or control' (McIntosh 1999, 15). Although there is no doubt that violence played a significant role in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, the importance of ritual and ideology should not be underestimated either.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider that power is not always hierarchical, and that although complexity, order, and hierarchy are often conflated, they are not the same thing (Crumley 1987, 163). Heterarchy, understood as a system of organisation where the elements are unranked or possess the potential for being ranked in multiple ways (Crumley 1995, 3), characterises power relations across time and space, as much, if not more, than hierarchy. The importance of heterarchical or counterpoised power relationships for West African societies has been explored by Susan and Roderick McIntosh in relation to Jenné-Jeno. This site, they argue, provides an example of a heterarchical, diffuse, and segmentary power structure based on consensus-based decision-making and horizontal differentiation (McIntosh & McIntosh 1980; McIntosh 1995a). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that most societies combine heterarchical and hierarchical structures, and that heterarchical relationships between elements at one spatial or temporal scale may be hierarchical at another, and vice versa (Crumley 1987).

2.4 Territory and land : spatial implications of power

As the material matrix in which human life takes place, space both influences, and is shaped by, human agency. Social organisation and political power always manifest themselves spatially, and by studying these manifestations, we can learn more about their operation. Although this analysis can be undertaken at a variety of scales (from a single household to an entire region), a landscape perspective has in the last few decades demonstrated its value and potential to address issues of political and social change both around the world, and specifically in West Africa (e.g. Monroe & Ogundiran 2012).

As an interface capable of integrating different units of archaeological analysis, historical narratives, and oral traditions, while focusing on the multiscalarity and material dimensions of all these processes (Richard 2012, 79), the notion of landscape is a powerful heuristic tool for thinking about the legitimisation of authority, and understanding social, economic and political processes (Fleisher & Wynne-Jones 2010). When it comes to states, most of these discussions focus on the notion of territoriality, which is often presented as an integral and necessary part of government (Wright 1999). Nevertheless, it has become evident in the last few

decades that these assumptions are problematic when it comes to pre-modern states, and that new notions of flexible territoriality, or even a-territoriality, have to be explored. Monica Smith (2005, 838), for instance, has suggested avoiding traditional territorial maps and instead representing polities as sets of changing networks; sets of connecting and disconnecting nodes through which power flows, and whose study enables us to analyse more accurately the mechanisms generated to deal with the inherent political, social and economic challenges to the administration of state authority.

Exploring the relationship between given states and their landscapes/territories therefore becomes a matter, not of drawing lines on maps, but of understanding the different components or layers that make up a territory or landscape, the nodes through which they are articulated, to whom they are relevant, and how access to them is regulated. Resources worth controlling can be of different natures: they can be lands, fields, and pastures; ores and trade routes; people (cf. Guyer 1995), as well as symbolic and metaphysical capital. Nevertheless, it is not enough to identify these nodes or resources, we also need to understand how they were connected to each other, and the wider landscapes they constituted and were part of.

One model which I find particularly useful is that of multiple or fragmented landscapes, which sees landscapes as constituted by a variety of interrelated but conceptually separate layers. Jackson (1984), for instance, distinguishes between a 'political' and a 'vernacular' landscape, while Spiers (2012,115) describes 'a mosaic of weakly centralized polities where centres of economic and political power do not necessarily coincide', but in which the sacred landscape heavily influences the political one (Spiers 2012, 135). Similarly, MacDonald and Camara (2012) in their study of the 18th-19th C Ségou state (Mali) describe an 'eternal' landscape of trading and religious centres which outlived the successive shorter-lived 'state-generated' landscapes of political and military centres.

It is also important to understand that the influence of states was not necessarily felt with the same strength across the different territories it controlled. For instance, Jan Vansina (1962) argued that all pre-colonial African states were conquest states, that started from a small kingdom and expanded by military conquest or threat of conquest. As a result of this process, kingdoms were characterised by a nuclear area with an administrative organisation directly governed by the king and markedly different from that of other regions. Expanding this notion into a tri-partite structure, Lloyd (1965, 70-1) distinguishes between a metropolitan area, peripheral

units, and a sphere of influence; while MacDonald and Camara (2012, 174) describe instead the state's territory as a 'bull's eye', characterised by a 'consciously defined and well-protected core [...] with rings of diminishing political domination and tribute beyond it, giving way to peripheral areas exploited by raiding'.

2.5 Mobility: an often neglected factor

Too often, archaeological studies of the spatial articulation of complexity tend to present landscapes as still pictures, sets of fixed nodes, networks, and boundaries. Yet, in practice, landscapes are constituted by highly dynamic structures, organisations, processes and practices, in which movement is not just a transitional phase between still moments, but an intrinsic part of their articulation. This is particularly true of the Upper Casamance, whose archaeological landscape, as outlined in Ch. 1, reflects a constant pattern of short distance mobility that constitutes one of the main themes of this thesis.

The study of mobility patterns is not new to archaeology, but as with complexity, frequently the focus has been on classifying rather than understanding. Multiple classificatory schemes have been suggested (e.g. Binford 1990, 122; Higgs & Vita-Finzi 1972; Murdock 1967,159; Rafferty 1985), ranging from binary divisions (sedentary/nomad), to more complex classifications, including multiple sub-types and intermediate categories. Nevertheless, as useful as these 'types' might sometimes be as a shorthand to describe more complex realities, their uncritical use often obscures more than it reveals, especially when the types are conceived as socio-evolutionary stages and/or entail assumptions about the subsistence, political institutions, or social organisation of the group in question (Kelly 1992).

Instead, I think it is more effective to see nomadism and sedentism as two ends of a multi-dimensional gradient, that needs to take into account not just the *degree,* but also the *nature,* of mobility. In this sense, I will make use of Wendrich and Barnard's (2008, 9) framework, which analyses mobility on the basis of moment (duration), movement (range and pattern), motivation, and population segment involved. The relationship between mobility and subsistence will be addressed and analysed, but no *a priori* link between the two will be assumed, thus enabling a richer understanding of the relationship between the two.

Patterns of site generation and abandonment

A crucial dimension in this analysis are regional patterns of site generation and abandonment. How are sites created, by whom, and under what circumstances? What are the most common reasons for abandonment? How are sites abandoned and where do people go afterwards? Although the specifics of these patterns are particular to each case, ethnographic parallels and general models can be very enlightening, if used critically.

One of these models is Kopytoff's (1987) 'African Frontier', which addresses the dynamics of societal and ethnic reproduction through segmentation, and their associated power implications. Kopytoff's central tenet is that fringes of established societies (or 'frontiers') offer spaces for the ambitious and aggrieved to create their own settlements by recreating or reinventing existing sociocultural patterns. Their achieved status as 'first-comers' bestows prestige, authority and legitimacy, thus conferring opportunities for self-aggrandising without challenging the established social order.

On the other hand, while it is true that in most cases 'first-comer' status is a source of power, that is not always the case, as instances where new arrivals dominate the existing populations have been documented, particularly in the Mande world (e.g. Fay 1997; Jansen 1996). Consequently, while I agree order of arrival is a key factor in power negotiations, particularly in West Africa, such negotiations are significantly more complex and flexible than initially thought, and need to be assessed carefully. Articulation of first-comer issues was a common theme in the interviews we conducted as part of the survey, and therefore an important element to consider in order to understand the evolution of settlement patterns in the area.

Mobility and political organisation

As with supposed direct links between subsistence and mobility (e.g nomadic pastoralists/sedentary cultivators), it has become clear in recent decades, that the relationship between mobility and political structures is also not predetermined, and that it requires careful analysis and consideration. Thus, recent literature has demonstrated that towns can exist without states (S.K McIntosh & R. McIntosh 1993a; Smith 2003); that political hierarchies can develop in societies with high degrees of mobility (MacDonald 1998), that many sedentary societies are not hierarchical (Woodburn 1982), while there are highly hierarchical nomads (Rassmussen

1993), and that complex societies take on all kinds of shapes and paths of development (Cowgill 2004; McIntosh 1999).

Two African examples are of particular relevance to this discussion: Ethiopia's peripatetic or 'wandering' towns, and Mali's *mansaduguw*. In 1969 Ronald. J Horvarth coined the term 'wandering capitals', challenging the assumption that cities, and especially capitals, had to be permanent and fixed in space. Instead, he argued for a 'capital city mobility continuum', of which relatively stable capitals (moving only after a century or even more) were merely at one end. At the other end, he described the case of medieval Ethiopia, where the capital moved every few months, or even every few weeks (Horvarth 1969). Since, other examples of peripatetic capitals and/or rulership have also been reported in contexts as varied as medieval Germany (Bernhardt 1993), Buganda (Gutkind 1963) and Ntusi (Reid 1996) in Uganda; as well as in 15th C Kanem-Borno (Gronenborn 2001).

The situation regarding Mali's imperial capital is less clear, but also more relevant to the Upper Casamance, given Kaabu's affiliation to Mali. On the one hand, we have Arabic descriptions of an apparently permanent town, with monumental architecture and an opulent royal court (e.g. Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 290-2, 342). On the other, such a 'capital' has never been found, and oral traditions refer to it not as a capital, but as several *mansaduguw* (lit. 'king's towns'), suggesting the centre of authority was where the king happened to be (Haour 2005, 559). The same sources also clearly distinguish between the royal lineage's ancestral residence and the king's court, and only in relation to the first is a clear sense of place conveyed (Conrad 1994, 366).

Shifting Sedentism

The particular type of mobility I am interested in, that of sedentary settlements that regularly 'shift' a few hundred meters, has not entered theoretical debates yet, but has been documented in both archaeological and ethnographic contexts. The majority of cases have to do with village movements related to shifting agriculture practices, such as those of the present-day Yanomamö horticulturalists in southern Venezuela (Craig & Chagnon 2006), the 15th-17th Haudenosaunee in the north-east of the US (Jones & Wood 2012), and the 8-10th C Anasazi from south-west Colorado (Kohler and Matthew 1988). These studies, however, tend to see residential mobility stemming mostly – or even exclusively – from soil degradation as-

sociated with extensive agriculture, and often fall into environmentally deterministic arguments.

Beyond America, instances of shifting villages have also been reported for Medieval Central Europe, where 'accounts tell of dwellings being moved to where the next job was or onto a patch of vacant land. Whole villages moved when the soil was exhausted or when they were threatened by enemy attack' (Jackson 1984, 94).

This notion of sedentary mobility is also picked up by Braudel (1981, 271), who describes how in rural areas of medieval France and Germany 'often, the centre of gravity within a given cultivated area shifted, and everything-furniture, people, animals, stones- was moved out of the abandoned village to a site a few kilometres away'. Closer to the Upper Casamance, in the Central Gambia, Amy Lawson reported how:

> 'according to elders in the Gambia, it is quite common for villages of up to 1000 individuals to relocate (usually less than 1 km away) if the village chief or lineage head dies, or if agricultural fields become exhausted. However, during the c.50-100 years in which a particular locale is inhabited, substantial houses are erected and individuals are "sedentary". This results in a settlement pattern in which a particular village sequentially locates itself in a number of discrete locales all within a relatively small area, a strategy which I am calling "serial sedentism". Even though the sites themselves appear ephemeral, this does not mean that the communities that produce them are' (Lawson 2003, 18).

Unfortunately, this insightful description, which coincides entirely with my own observations in the Upper Casamance, is the only mention of this issue in Lawson's work.

Consequently, although not unknown, the existence of patterns of shifting sedentism is heavily under-theorised. The vast majority of archaeological texts on mobility are concerned almost exclusively with nomadism; while existing analysis of shifting villages rarely go beyond simple environmental determinism or explore the relation of these shifts to political structures and their implications. It is likely, however, that the absence (until now) of a unifying term to group these phenomena has led to an under-representation in the literature of what could be a much more widespread phenomenon; and that a richer comparative literature will emerge in the coming decades.

2.6 Ethnicity and identity

Ethnicity is a complex term that encompasses the social phenomena related to the identity of a group as such. Ethnic groups have been traditionally defined as biologically self-perpetuated communities, sharing fundamental cultural values, constituting a field of communication and interaction, with an identity recognized by others and expressed through a self-designated ethonym (Barth 1969,11). Traditional debates about ethnicity have focused on establishing whether it is an all-inclusive general theory or a limited approach to particular problems; an individual assertion of identity or an imposition of the group over the individual; an innate aspect of human nature or an instrumental construction; a matter of content or of boundaries (Banks 1996).

Although important for a long time, this traditional view has now been shown to be inadequate, as it reifies and essentialises what are in fact a series of highly contextual and fluid notions and practices. It has become clear that it is necessary to avoid simplistic dichotomies and to study the specific context in which ethnic manifestations take place, as it is through shared experiences that common identities become meaningful (Banks 1996, 45). While physical or biological traits can in certain cases be used as ethnic markers, ethnicity is in no way about biology; it is instead a socially reproduced system of classification that has to be studied in relation to its social, economic and political context. In other words, it is not an attribute of groups, but a dimension of relationships (Eriksen 2002).

Ethnicity is therefore highly fluid and malleable, and the ethnographic literature is full of cases of individuals and groups changing their identity to more advantageous ones, from the Fur in Darfur (Barth 1996, 22-4) to the Balant in the Senegambia (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849a, 324). At the same time, ethnicity can also be lived and presented as a naturalised and inescapable social fact, and it is precisely this contrast between the constructed fluidity of its operation and the given immutability of its perception that makes it such a powerful political tool.

Understanding this duality between the discourse and practice of ethnicity is particularly important for archaeology, as social boundaries are notoriously difficult to interpret through material culture alone and a reliance on historical texts for guidance can, and often has, led to a reification of the identitary phenomena studied. Much has been written about the role of material culture in the definition of identities and of the potential of archaeology to explore and study them (see Jones 2002 for a global review or Richard & MacDonald 2014a for a specifically

African one), so I will not discuss it here. For the current purpose of defining the framework of my analysis, suffice to say that there is no simple direct correlation between material traits and ethnicity, but that material culture *is* an attribute of identity, whose meaning can only be understood by reference to the social, historical, and spatial contexts in which it was deployed (Richard & MacDonald 2014b).

2.7 Overview

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main theoretical strands and themes from which the subsequent analysis draws from, and to which it aims to contribute. I started with a discussion of the terminology I will be employing and why; followed by an exploration of the recent debates about the diversity of indigenous African sociopolitical forms and of the 'complexity of complexity' more widely. Beyond Africa, I have discussed debates about the spatial and material dimensions of political power and organisation, and focused on some of the models that archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists have used to conceptualise notions of territoriality, mobility, and ethnic identity construction.

Two interrelated themes emerge from this review, which define my approach to the Upper Casamance's archaeological landscapes: the emphasis on understanding rather than on categorisation; and the need to explore the connections between different dimensions of human societies (settlement patterns, political organisation, subsistence, ritual practices) without assuming any predetermined correlation between them. Having defined the theoretical framework, in the next chapter I address the factual background on which this research is based.

CHAPTER 3 : KAABU AND FULAADU: THE STORY SO FAR

3.1.-Introduction

In Ch. 1 I reviewed the primary and secondary sources available on the history of Kaabu and Fulaadu. While there is no scarcity of primary sources, most of the historiographical work so far has focused on very specific aspects, and has been characterised by a substantial disconnect between anglophone, francophone, and lusophone authors and sources. As a result, we still do not have a complete critical synthesis of the Upper Casamance's history. The three most comprehensive reviews so far are Lopes *Kaabunké* and Niane's *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest* for Kaabu, and Roche's *Histoire de la Casamance* for Fulaadu. These three books undoubtedly represent key milestones in our understanding of the region's history, but also present important limitations.

For example, Niane's book traces the history of Kaabu from its origins to its demise, and provides previously unknown details about some aspects of its structure and organisation. It does so by drawing from an extensive and unprecedented range of sources, including unpublished oral traditions. These sources, however, are amalgamated to produce a single coherent historical narrative, which makes it difficult to know what the origin of the information is, and how different biases might affect it. Lopes' work, on the other hand, is much more systematic in its referencing of sources, but largely focuses on grand narratives and general organisational principles, without much attention paid to the specifics of daily life or the concrete material and spatial expressions of those principles. Like Niane's book, the focus is exclusively on Kaabu, with no discussion of later periods. In contrast, Roche's *Histoire de la Casamance* is a comprehensive review of the Casamance's history from 1850 to 1920. Incredibly useful, and still unparalleled in level of detail, this study is nevertheless almost entirely based on European written sources, with no attention paid to oral traditions, and extremely little coverage of the region's previous history and how it affected the 19th and 20th developments described. As a result, it presents a detailed and comprehensive description of the region's history, but entirely through European eyes.

Furthermore, the many shorter articles and conference presentations discussed in Ch.1 contain relevant information which is often not included in these syntheses. The fact that the three books focus on either Kaabu or Fulaadu, but never on both, is also a problem, as it has obscured the continuities between the two

periods. Consequently, before I discuss my own data, it is necessary to review all the available information about the region's history and how it fits together, since no other source has done so yet in a comprehensive, multi-vocal, and critical manner.

I start this review with a description of the current political, social, and physical landscapes of the region, for no research takes place in a vacuum and understanding its setting is, as will become clear in Chapter 4, essential to my analysis. Having defined the space in which the research takes place in the present, I look back at the main social and political events that have marked the region's history over the last millennium. In the absence of written sources prior to the 15th C, oral sources form an important part of this review, in particular for the earlier periods. However, instead of amalgamating oral and written sources into a single historical narrative as it is often done, I have chosen to present them separately, and always specifying the origin of the source, so their biases and natures are not obscured. Likewise, I have not applied any 'historical filter' to oral traditions: both mythical and feasibly historical elements are presented as they occur in the original narratives.

Finally, I review the available knowledge on the historical evolution of different aspects of relevance to subsequent discussions, namely social and political organisation, economy and trade, clothing and adornment, architecture, religious practices, and the nature of ethnic interactions.

3.2.-The Upper Casamance

The Upper Casamance, or Kolda region, is the westernmost part of the Casamance, the strip of land that separates Gambia from Guinea-Bissau. Administratively, it consists of three Departments (Kolda, Médina Yoro Foulah, and Vélingara), which in turn are divided into *Arrondissements* and *Communes*. The *Arrondisements* are further subdivided into *Communautés Rurales*. The climate is sudanic-guinean, hot and humid, with a wet season between June and October, and a dry season from November to May. Average rainfall ranges from 700 to 1300mm (ANSD 2009). It is a largely flat area, with sandy and clayey sandstones forming plateaus, and lateritic outcrops which the local Fulbe populations call *ferlo*. Vegetation is abundant, combining savannah and light forest, cross-cut by a multiplicity of seasonal and permanent water courses. In 2009 the Kolda region had 585.155 inhabitants, of which 75% were Fulbe (sing. Pullo), followed by Manding

(7.31%) and Wolof (7.22%), and over 20 other ethnic groups in smaller numbers (ANSD 2009, 7-10). The predominance of the Fulbe is a relatively recent phenomenon, resulting from the decline of Kaabu from the mid 19th C (Roche 1985, 63). Although the difference between Manding and Fulbe is absolute on paper and in speech, in practice both groups have been coexisting for so long that the cultural differences are limited. They speak different languages but the degree of borrowing between the two is significant. The Fulakunda, as the Fulbe from this region are called, still practice more animal husbandry than their Manding neighbours, but contrary to the image of the 'ideal Pullo', they are fully sedentary and mostly agriculturalists. Most villages are mixed to a certain extent (though there are exceptions), but power, symbolised by the figure of the village head or *jarga,* tends to be held by one of the groups.

The main economic activity is agriculture, which generates 70% of the revenues in the region, and the main crops are peanut, corn, millet, rice, Niebé beans, and fonio. Formerly nomadic, animal husbandry has now become sedentary, and focuses mainly on cattle, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys (ANSD 2009). Nowadays there are only two towns that qualify as such, Kolda and Velingara, situated at the western and eastern ends of the region, respectively, and linked by the only paved road, which constitutes both the main axis of communication and the main link of the region with the rest of the country. In 2009, the Kolda region had a population of 585,155 inhabitants, spread over 1589 villages, and with a population density of 43 inhabitants/km^2 (ANDS 2009, 5-7).

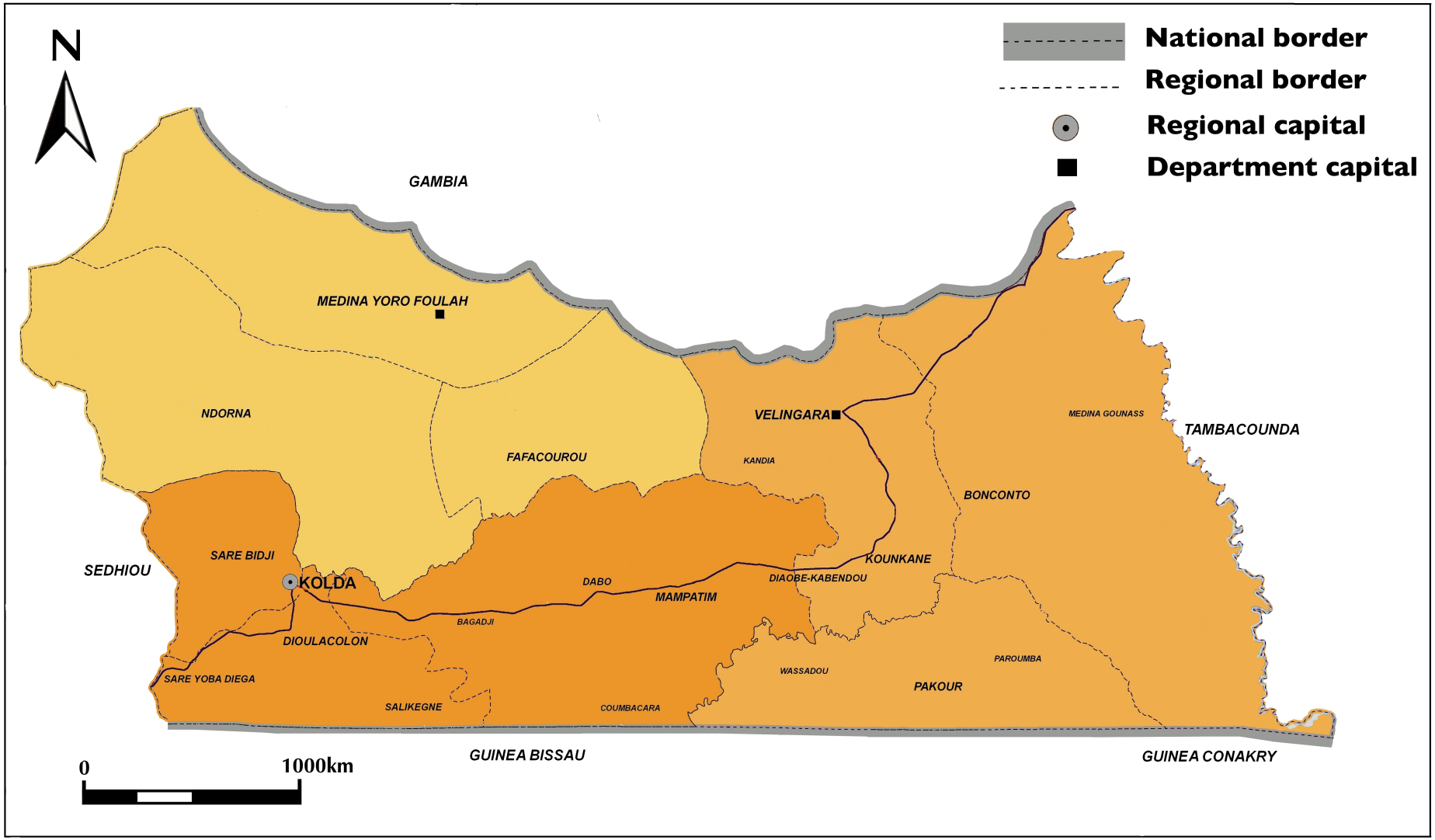


Fig. 3.1 Current administrative map of the Upper Casamance or Kolda Region

3.3.-Historical overview

Pre-13th C: stone age and early farming communities

Although in the absence of any prior archaeological study, we have no direct information about the Upper Casamance's earliest occupations, we have some data for surrounding areas. For instance, at the confluence of the Gambia and the Niokolo Koba (some 120km from the Upper Casamance), Middle Stone Age (MSA) sites like Bafoulabé, Impaté or Matapa, testify to early occupation of the area (Diop 2000, 266-7); as do late Acheulean and MSA sites in the Madina-Sadatou area of the Falémé (Ravisé 1975; Camara & Dubosq 1984, 1987, 1990; Gokee 2012). Additionally, there are documented Late Stone Age (LSA) sites to the west, in the Lower Casamance (Linares de Sapir 1971); to the east, in the Kédogou region (Mauny 1963; Guitat 1970); to the northeast, in the Falémé (Gokee 2012); and to the northwest, in the Siin-Salum (Guitat 1970).

As for later periods, Senegambian archaeology has traditionally divided sites into four main 'culture areas' or 'proto-historic provinces' (e.g. Descamps 1979; Martin & Becker 1984; Bocoum 2000), defined by their predominant site type: shell mounds in the Atlantic littoral from Mauritania to Casamance (Linares de Sapir 1971; Descamps & Thilmans 1979), megalithic cemeteries in the Gambia and Siin Saalum (Thilmans *et al.* 1980; Gallay *et al.* 1982; Holl *et al.* 2007; Cros *et al.* 2010), earthen tumuli in northwestern Senegal (Joire & Duchemin 1955; S. K. McIntosh & R. J. McIntosh 1993b), and tell sites in the Middle Senegal Valley (Thilmans & Ravisé 1980; Bocoum & McIntosh 2002; R. J. McIntosh *et al.* 2012).

This division presents multiple problems: firstly, each of these 'culture areas' includes in fact multiple types of sites, not just the one they have been labelled after (see for instance Lawson 2003 on habitation sites in the megalith area). Beyond issues of misrepresentation, this division has also led to a lack of attention to the interconnection between different site types, with some notable exceptions –see for instance Gallay *et al*'s 1982 study of the relationship between a megalithic circle an earthen mound, and a settlement site. Finally, these 'settlement types' have in most cases little or no chronological value, as they group archaeological phenomena that are often centuries –or even millennia– apart.

As a result, our understanding of early farming and iron-producing communities in the Senegambia is still very limited, and that is even more the case for the southern Senegambia, where research has been scarcer. We do know,

however, that early farming communities had settled in the site of Arondo, at the confluence between the Falémé and the Senegal rivers (approx. 300 km to the NE of the UC) by AD 400 (Thiaw 1999). To the northwest, shell mounds in the Petite Côte have yielded 2nd C AD dates (Descamps *et al* 1977), and putative early Iron Age pottery has been found at the site of Simal in the Siin (Richard 2007, 569). Closer to the Upper Casamance, the megalithic site of Tièkene Bossoura (70km north of the UC) was in use from as early the 4th C BC (Thilmans *et al* 1980), and occupational shell middens in the Lower Casamance (200km to the west) have yielded radiocarbon dates stretching from the 3rd C BC to the 18th C AD (Linares de Sapir 1971). As for the areas south of the Casamance, as was discussed in Ch.1 there is no information available , for either Stone Age or Iron age sites .

Therefore, while we have no prior information regarding the pre-13th C history of the Upper Casamance, and our overall understanding of early settlement of the southern Senegambia as a whole is still very limited, we know there were MSA, LSA, and iron-using societies to the west, north, and east of the Upper Casamance. It is therefore likely that similar occupations might have been present in the Upper Casamance itself.

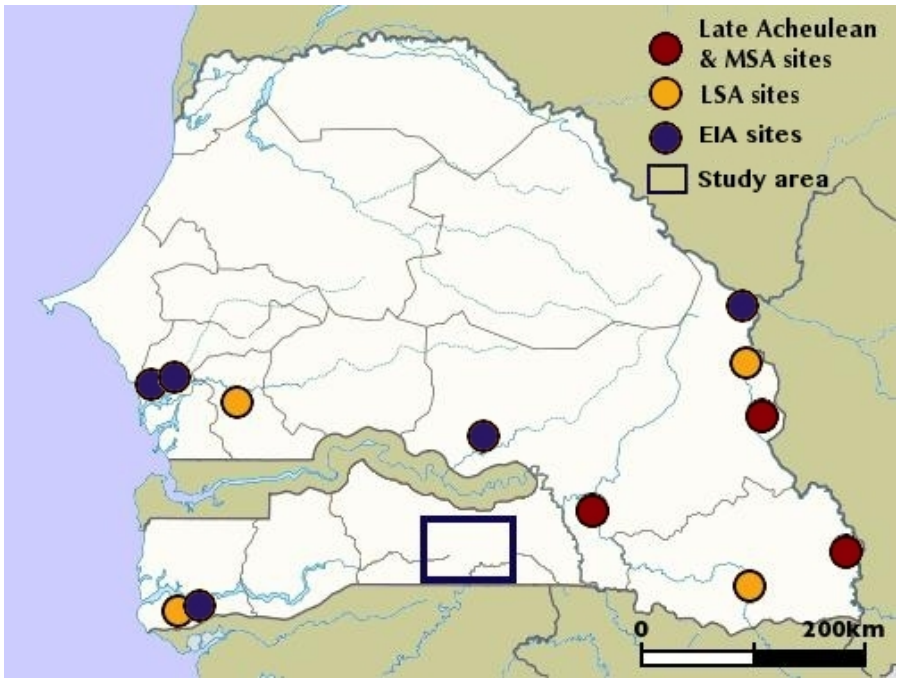


Fig.3.2 Late Acheulean, MSA, LSA, EIA sites within a 300km radius of the study area

The Sunjata epic and Tiramakan in the Senegambia

In the absence of historical sources prior to the 15th C, all our knowledge about the early history of the Upper Casamance comes from oral traditions, and the earliest of them is the Sunjata epic. This epic narrates the life of Sunjata, founder of the Mali empire, and the events that led to the empire's foundation during the 13th century. Besides containing useful information about the Empire of Mali and Mande notions of power and leadership, some versions (Quiquandon 1892; De Zeltner 1913; Kanouté 1972; Innes 1974; Moser 1974; Johnson 1986; Jabate 1987; Jansen *et al.* 1995) include also an episode describing the conquest of the Senegambia. This episode narrates (with some variations) how some time after Sunjata's victory, he was greatly offended by the Wolof king, who refused to give/sell him horses arguing that all a Malinke hunter needed were dogs and/or leather sandals. Furious, Sunjata sent one of his generals, Tiramakan Traoré, to avenge this affront, resulting in the death of the Wolof king and the conquest of part of his territory.

This is as far as most Malian and Guinean versions go, but griots in the Senegambia expand Tiramakan's exploits into a whole epic of their own. They describe how prior to Tiramakan's arrival, the area was inhabited by two main groups: the Bainouk and the Padjadinka (the Beafada, Balantes, and Manjak are also sometimes cited, but their status as first settlers is disputed). The Bainouk occupied the country from Pakao to the Valley of the Gambia and were governed by *musomansaw* (lit. female kings/queens). Depending on the source, their last ruler was called either Ngana Sira Baana[1] (Phillot Almeida 1980; Cissoko 1981,1; Lopes 1990, 20) or Kikikor (Niane 1989, 43). Other Bainouk rulers remembered are Kokoua and Bandiougou (Cissoko 1981, 2), and their capital was at Mampatim (Cissoko 1972; Sidibe 1972a).

Having defeated the Wolof king and conquered large parts of the Senegambia, Tiramakan returned to Mali, where Sunjata, greatly pleased with his exploits, gave him control over the newly conquered territories, as well as thousands of soldiers, artisans, peasants, and slaves to populate them (Sidibe 1980). For several decades, Tiramakan travelled across the Senegambia, founding villages and predicting the existence of future ones, until he eventually died in Bassé (Gambia), where his tomb is still visible (Cissoko 1972, 2; Niane 1989, 26).

As for what happened to the Bainouk rulers, most narratives are silent. The

[1] Ngana Sira Baana is a Manding name. Ngana means 'man of action' (Zobel 1996, 39).

one exception is a version recorded in Kankelefa according to which the Manding would have acknowledged the Bainouk king, Ngana Sira Banna, and not interfered with his domains during his life time. After his death, however, the Bainouk decided to fight the incessant arrival of Manding migrants, but were defeated and had to flee (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 1). From this episode would come the phrase from which the name Kaabu was derived : *N'ka a bung folo*[2] (let's shoot them first) (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 8). Nevertheless, this is just one among the many explanations for the name Kaabu, which has also been said to come from the word 'periphery' in Pulaar (Ba 1981, 1), the term for 'region' in Manding (Ba 1981, 1), as well as 'let us not leave' (Leary 1972,5).

An alternative interpretation of this story is presented by Mamadou Mané (1979, 98; 1981; 1989, 19), who argues that Manding presence in the Senegambia largely predates both Tiramakan and Sunjata. He contends that the foundation of Kaabu would have in fact resulted from successive waves of migration starting in the 12th C, in which the initial Manding minority would have had to adapt to Bainouk customs, thus explaining the unusual traits of Kaabu's ruling elite (e.g. matrilineal inheritance). Others, like Benoit (1988, 508), argue the opposite, that the Manding migration would have been a much smaller affair than suggested by oral traditions, and that instead local populations would have adopted the language and customs of their new masters. Unfortunately, neither of these authors specifies what their claims are based on, thus making it difficult to judge their validity. Similarly, we have historical confirmation of Sunjata's existence (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 322-23), but not of Tiramakan's. The character of Tiramakhan, however, is one of the most common in versions of the epic across time and space, appearing already in the earliest printed version of the text in the 19th C (Quinquandon 1892, 316).

The *nyanthio* myth of origin

A parallel tradition to the Sunjata epic narrates the origin of the *nyanthio,* the ruling elites of Kaabu. Although the limits between this tradition and the Tiramakan story are blurry – in fact they are often so amalgamated they become almost indistinguishable – their complete forms appear to be independent. There are many different versions of this tradition, combining the key elements in different

[2] The correct spelling of this expression according to current Malinké ortography should be *An kal'u bon fòlò!*.

ways and attributing them to different characters, but the core story is as follows :

A Malinké princess, known as Balaba (Cissoko 1981) or Tenemba (Niane 1981, 1), was found in a cave near Mampatim, and taken to the local king, who in some cases is descendant of Tiramakan (Innes 1972, 2; Niane 1989, 40 ; Lopes 1988, 116). Balaba Tinkida, as she came to be known, was hidden in a room which nobody had access to. One day, people heard baby cries coming from inside the room, and when they opened it, they saw Balaba had given birth to three daughters. Because of the miraculous nature of the birth, the daughters were called *nyanthio (*genies) (Niane 1989, 41). The king then married Balaba and the three princesses were given in marriage to the princes of the territories of Jimara, Pathiana, and Sama. It was then established that only the male descendants of Balaba's daughters (identified by the patronyms of Sané and Mané), would rise to the throne, and that the three *nyanthio* territories would rule Kaabu in turns (Niane 1989, 41; Girard 1992, 201-4).

Although this is by far the most extended version, alternative stories also exist. Leary (1972, 3-5), for instance, describes a tradition according to which the *nyanthio* are the descendants of Santy and Dienou, two princes from N'Denia in Mali, who decided to leave the Manden and head westwards. Sidibé (1972b, 4-7), on the other hand, reports a story in which Balaba (or Nyaling, as she is called in this version), is a slave girl given to the king of Damantang, and it is their three sons –not daughters–who are the original *nyanthio*.

Regardless of the story behind the institution's origin, we have historical confirmation that the *nyanthioya* (the rotational system of power among matrilineal princely clans from three different provinces) was in operation by the end of Kaabu in the 19th C (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 267; Berenguer-Feraud 1879, 209). What is not so clear is when it was established. Cissoko (1981,2) places its origins in the 17th C on the basis of king lists from oral traditions, but these lists are notoriously unreliable as chronological devices. The griot Sana Kuyaté claims *nyanthioya* appeared at least five generations after Tiramakan (Niane 1989, 40). Girard (1992, 232), however, describes a 14th C succession conflict in the province of Pathiana derived from an attempt at subverting this system, thus implying it was already in place, but his sources are not stated. Most traditions, however, associate the establishment of *nyanthioya* with the move of the capital to Kansala (current Guinea Bissau) (Niane 1989, 41; Girard 1992, 201-4).

Although not mentioning *nyanthioya* directly, both Alvares de Almada (1964, 70) in the 16th and Donelha (1977, 106) in the 17th C, described a group of rulers named 'Mané', who were subjects of the Mali emperor. Additionally, Donelha provided what appears to be a short combined version of the Tiramakhan and *nyanthio* stories:

> *'A origem dos Manes, dizem os antigos por tradição de seus avós e o que deles ouviram, é que ũa senhora mui principal, agravada do grande emperador e monarca d'Etiópia, Mandimansa, se saio da cidade de Malem com un enxército de seus parentes e vassalos e amigos, tão grande e copioso, que bastou a conquistar muitas e diversas terras e diversas naçois'*[3] (Donelha 1977, 106)

Both of these authors, however, place the 'Manés' further to the south, which has led some historians (e.g. Thomas 1920; Rodney 1970, 39) to believe they might be referring to the 16th C 'Mané invasions' of Sierra Leona, rather than to Kaabu. What the connection between these two groups of 'Manés' –the Sierra Leonean and the Kabunké– is, remains unclear.

The Atlantic Era and the first historical sources

In the mid-15th century, the Portuguese landed on the Senegambia, and were soon followed, by Italian, Dutch, and English traders and explorers, thanks to whom we have the first written historical accounts on the region. Their writings, although mostly focused on the coast and navigable rivers, occasionally give insights into the territories inland, including Kaabu. The first historical mention of Kaabu comes from the Portuguese navigator Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who writing between 1506 and 1508 describes a Manding kingdom by the name of 'Guabu' to the east of the Gambia river (Pacheco Pereira 1956, 64).

From mentions during the 15th and early 16th C, two things become clear: first, that Kaabu was not a recent foundation, but a well established and powerful kingdom that dominated the political and economic life of the southern Senegambia; and second, that despite its power, it was still a vassal state/province of the Mali Empire. For instance, in the 15th C Diogo Gomes (1959, 39) was told in

[3] 'At the origin of the Manes, according to the elders from the tradition of their grandfathers and what they heard from them, is that a very important woman, offended by the great emperor and governor of Ethiopia, Mandimansa, left the city of Malem with an army of her relatives, vassals, and friends, so large and copious, that it sufficed to conquer many and diverse cities and nations'

Niumi, a Gambian kingdom, that '*quid rex Bormelli*[4]*, et quod tota terra nigrorum a parte recta fluuij erat sub suo dominio et sibi subjecti*'[5]. Likewise, a century later, Alvares de Almada (1964, 70) speaking also about a Gambian king explained how

> *'sem embargo, deste Rei ser poderoso, dá obediência a um Farim, chamado Cabo, que é entre eles como imperador, e este a dá a outro que fica sobre ele, e desta maneira vão dando obediência uns aos outros, até irem dar ao Farim Olimança, digo Mandimança, que é imperador dos negros, donde tomaram este nome os Mandingas'*[6]

Meanwhile, the core of the Mali Empire was in turmoil. In 1433 it had lost Timbuktu to the Tuareg, and some time later Djenné and the Ségou region to the Songhay. As a result, Mali was cut off from some key trans-Saharan trade routes, and became increasingly reliant on Kaabu and its involvement in the Atlantic trade (Ly-Tall 1981,1). Thus, while Mali waned, Kaabu flourished, gaining complete independence in the mid 17th C, and continuing its expansion and consolidation into the 18th C. The economic and political power of the Kaabunke leaders of this period was captured by European travellers and traders: the British explorer Richard Jobson (1968) described in 1623 the Farim Cabo as the great king of the Cantor river, while the Portuguese de Lemos Coelho (1953, 84-8) wrote in 1669 about the many tributary kingdoms to Kaabu. Already in the 18th C, the French missionary Labat recounts how a Kaabu king, by the name of Biram Mansaté, had over 6000 well-armed soldiers in his court, ate only from silver crockery, and sold 600 slaves annually to the Portuguese alone (Labat 1728, 234).

Kaabu's decline

Soon after Biram Mansaté's death, however, the scenario radically changed. The highly profitable slave trade, on which Kaabu's elites had come to depend for economic and political power, gradually declined until its complete stop in the late 19th C. Without the revenues and taxes from the Atlantic trade, the Kaabu elites started to squeeze the population for taxes and resources, leading to a series of

4 ' Bour' means 'ruler' in Serer and Wolof

5 'And they said it was the king Bormelli who governed all the lands of the blacks, that all the right bank of the river was under his control, and that they themselves were his subjects'

6 'despite being powerful, this king owes obedience to a Farim, called Cabo, who is among them like an emperor, and this latter is subject to another one above him, and this way they are all subject to another one, until they reach the Farim Olimança or Mandimança, who is the emperor of the blacks, from whom the Mandingas take their name'

revolts. The state no longer able to guarantee their security, merchants started to recruit their own security personnel, and regional and village leaders declared themselves sovereign and independent, while the French and Portuguese expanded their military control of areas and networks (Lopes 1990). Soon, the Kaabu elites started fighting each other for power, leading to a full-blown civil war. The landscape described by European travellers in the area from the 1840s was one of great instability and extreme decentralisation, where even village chiefs had declared themselves independent kings and built fortifications (Bertrand-Bocandé 1851, 415-6).

It is in this climate of unrest that the Fulbe revolt started. The Fulbe, originally nomadic herders from the Fuuta Djallon (Guinea), the Futa Tooro, Bondou (Senegal), and the Macina (Mali), had been arriving in the Upper Casamance since the onset of Kaabu, and gradually sedentarised and entered into patron-client relationships with the Manding elites. At some point, however, these relationships appear to have become exploitative, so when the opportunity arose to rid themselves of Manding oppresion, the Fulakunda or Fulbe Firdou (as the Fulbe in Upper Casamance are known) seized it (Sidibe 1972c). Three Fulbe leaders, Molo Egue (aka Alpha Molo), Samba Egue, and Coly Demo, took by force the fortress of the local Manding king, Lékouta Sona, in Hamdallaye (22km NE of Kolda), and once established, sent emissaries to the Fulbe in the Fouta Djallon asking for help in the war against Kaabu (Legrand 1912). The *almamy* (religious and political leaders of the Fuuta Djallon) accepted, marking the beginning of a long war.

Although this war is often portrayed as a straightforward Fulbe against Manding or Muslim versus animist conflict, reality was significantly more complex. While religion and ethnicity no doubt played a part in shaping the factions, it was power struggles that ultimately defined whose camp each actor fought on. Thus, *nyanthio* elites disgruntled with the rule of the then Kaabu ruler Dianke Wali, allied themselves with the Fuuta Djallon, while Fulbe leaders in disagreement with Alpha Molo fought against the invasion (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 6; Niane 1989, 182-3; Girard 1992, 234). Alliances shifted regularly, and the meddling of European powers further complicated the picture. In fact at certain points it became so complicated to identify who was on who's side that some French administrators started to refer to all parties as 'Manding-Fulbe' (Leary 1972, 11).

The first major battle took place in 1849, when the troops of the *almamy*

Omar (see Fig. 3.3) succeeded in destroying the great Kaabu fortress of Berekolon (in current Guinea Bissau), and defeated its ruler, the famous warrior Galen Sonko (Niane 1989, 142,152-3). This battle, and the pillaging that followed, was described by the French commandant at Sedhiou, who in 1853 reported how 'after several fights and the destruction of the large village of Berecolon, the chiefs spread out into various parts of Gabu where they continued to ravage the country during the rainy season' (cited in Leary 1972, 9). More specifically, one part of the army raided Kantora under the orders of Alfa Ibrahima, while the rest beseiged Kansala for four months, but was eventually repelled (Sidibe 1972b, 7). In the subsequent five years, the Fuuta troops and their allies conquered all the opposing Kaabu strongholds, until only the capital, Kansala (in current Guinea Bissau) remained.

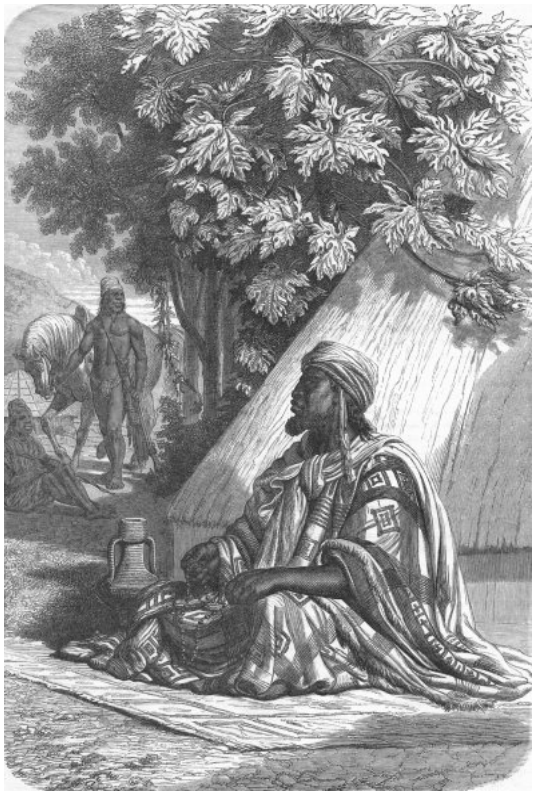


Fig 3.3 Almamy Omar. Reproduced from Lambert 1861.

The fall of Kansala and its aftermath

The battle of Kansala, which depending on the source took place in 1865 (Leary 1972, 5;Phillot-Almeida 2011, 32), 1866 (Caroço 1948, 121) or 1867 (Sidibe 1972c; Niane 1981, 34; 1989, 64;;Roche 1985, 127) was the final nail in Kaabu's coffin, and is known in Manding oral traditions as *turuban* (lit. 'anhiliation') (Sidibe 1972c). The battle ended when seeing no chance of victory, the Kaabu king Dianke

Wali decided to set fire to the remaining gunpowder and blew up his fort, with him and his family inside, an event which is recorded by both oral traditions (Carreira 1947, 30-31; Niane 1989, 193) and historical sources (Roche 1985, 127).

The fall of Kansala was followed by a period of high instability, when a multiplicity of rulers tried to fill the power void left by Kaabu's collapse. Before returning to the Fuuta, the *almamy* left trusted allies at the head of the former Kaabu provinces, but it was not long until the newly appointed leaders started both fighting each other and refusing to pay the yearly taxes to the Fuuta (Sidibe 1972b, 16). From his new fortress in Soulabaly, and thanks to his continual alliance with the *almamy,* the Fulbe leader Alfa Molo succeeded in gradually subduing most of his Manding and Fulbe rivals, establishing himself as ruler of the Upper Casamance, which he named 'Fulaadu' (lit. 'country of the Fula' in Manding) (Girard 1964; Legrand 1912). Nevertheless, peace was always short-lived and up until his death in 1881, Alfa Molo faced continuous threats and invasions, from both Manding and Fulbe adversaries (Sidibe 1984, 9).

Musa Moolo and Fulaadu

Alfa Molo's death was followed by a conflict regarding his succession, for although Alfa had designated his son Musa as heir, the Fulaadu elders chose Alfa Molo's brother, Bakary Demba Balde, as ruler (Sidibe 1984, 9). Bakary moved his capital from Soulabaly to Korop, while Musa retired to the southern Fulaadu, and appeared to cooperate with his uncle, while at the same time signing a treaty with the French placing Fuladu under French protection in exchange for support (Sidibe 1984, 16). After 12 years of unresolved tension, Musa finally attacked Korop and defeated his uncle, although this latter managed to escape (Sidibe 1984, 12).

Having secured his hold over the throne, Musa moved his capital to Hamdallahi (23km north of Kolda) and launched a major program of reforms, reorganising the territory, removing all traditional leaders, and replacing them by trusted allies (Girard 1964). He built an administrative structure that was until then missing, with a territorial hierarchy appointed by himself, and a corps of agents responsible only to him (Quinn 1971). Nevertheless, rebellions in the peripheral provinces required the aid of the French, in exchange for which further concessions were required. In the new treaty, signed in 1895, Musa Molo gave the French the right to perceive half of the taxes collected in the region and to control the legitimacy of his own actions (Leary 1972, 21-2; Bassène 2011, 188-92). The

relationship between Musa and the French authorities gradually deteriorated from then on, leading to Musa's exile to the Gambia in 1903, thus removing all constraints for full French colonial implantation in the Upper Casamance (Legrand 1912).

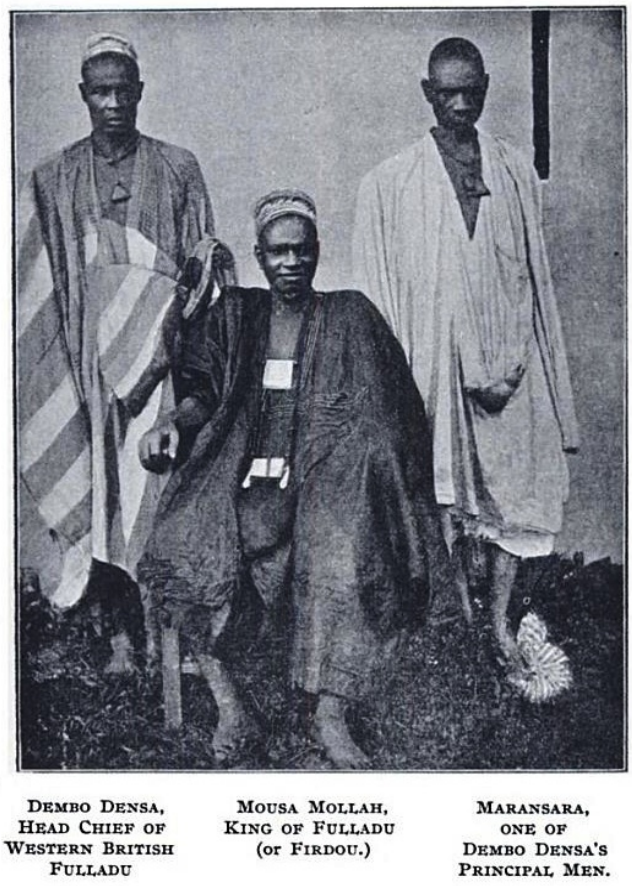


Fig 3.4 Moussa Molo during his exile in the Gambia. . Reproduced from Roche 1976, 397

3.4- Social and political organisation

Reconstructing the social and political organisation of Kaabu and Fulaadu is no easy task, but the challenges are different for each period. In the case of Kaabu, the two key sources are the European descriptions of Gambian political structures and the systems described by oral traditions. Although the former tend to force local realities into Eurocentric moulds, and the latter are idealised and static, their combination provides a relatively balanced view, and the substantial amount of correspondences between the two provides reassurance regarding their historicity. The main problem is in fact of chronological nature, as both types of sources present the six centuries of Kaabu's rule as a uniform period of relatively stable political and social structures (with some notable exceptions, discussed later).

In the case of the shorter-lived Fulaadu, the sources are substantially more abundant and detailed, and changes over time are better documented, but the problem of eurocentrism is ever present. The Fulaadu inherited many of its structures from Kaabu (after all it was largely a shift in power balances rather than in social fabric), but Musa Molo's structure also presented innovations which will be discussed.

Social structure

As all other areas which belonged at some point to the Mali Empire, the Upper Casamance was deeply influenced by Mali's sociopolitical models. The Manding model, in its Upper Casamance adaptation, has as basic social unit the *dembaya* (household or extended family), whose material expression is the compound (*gallé* in Pulaar, *lu* in Manding). A group of compounds makes a village or *saré,* which is governed by a *jarga (*village head). A series of *saré* can form a confederation or *kafu,* controlled by a ruler (*laamdo* in Pulaar, *mansa* in Manding) (Monteil 1929; Levtzion 1980; Niane 1989, 88-9). Each political unit, whether a village or a confederation, has a territory, called *banco* (Manding) or *leidi* (Pulaar). Although very often translated as 'province' in the context of states, both *banco* and *leidi* literally mean 'land' or 'soil', and will here be translated as 'territory' (see discussion in Ch.4). These terms and divisions have proved to be very resilient and adaptable over time, since they appear already in some of the earliest historical sources on the region, and still to a large extent define the sociopolitical configuration of the region nowadays (the president of Senegal would still be defined as a *laamdo,* for instance).

Table 3.1 Main terms defining the social structure in the Upper Casamance and the Manden

Translation	**Upper Casamance**		**Manden**
	Pulaar	**Manding**	
compound	*gallé*	*lu*	*lu*
family	*mbeyguure*	*diimbaya*	*dembaya*
village	*saare*	*saate*	*dugu*
village head	*jarga*	*jarga*	*dugu-tigi*
land/territory	*leydi*	*banco*	*banco*
king	*laamdo*	*mansa*	*mansa*
confederation	*dentaal*	*kafu*	*kafu*
political power	*laamu*	*mansaya*	*mansaya*

As for social divisions, the main category beyond the family level is the family name or patronym, (*yetode* in Pulaar, *jamu* in Manding), and above that, the ethnic group (*leñol* in Pulaar, *fiiyo/lafiyo* in Manding). In general terms, Kaabu followed the Mande tripartite social structure of *horon* (free men and women), *nyamakalaw* (artisans), and *jonw* (slaves) (Geysbeek 2002, 37), but it also had its own peculiarities. Most notably, the presence of *nyanthio* and *koring,* an aristocratic class unknown in the rest of the Manding world.

Nyanthio and Koring

The Kaabu aristocracy was divided into two categories: *nyanthio* and *koring*. The *nyanthio*, whose origin myth was described earlier on, were at the top of the social hierarchy. Identified by the patronyms Sané and Mané (very different from the ruling clans of Mali: Keita,Traoré, Condé), *nyanthio* status was transmitted only through the maternal line, so the children of a *nyanthio* man would only be *nyanthio* if the mother was so (otherwise the child would only be *koring*). The *nyanthio* looked down on both agriculture and trade, as war and hunting were the only occupation worth of their status, and it is from their ranks that all Kaabu *mansaba* (emperors, lit. 'great kings') came from (Niane 1981, 2; Mane 1989, 23; Niane 1989, 90). Below the *nyanthio* were the *koring*. *Koring* status could be inherited patrilineally, or from a *nyanthio* father and a non-*nyanthio* mother. They had a greater variety of patronyms than *the nyanthio,* including Sonko, Sagna, Mandjan, Banja, Djassi, as well as Sane and Mane (Sidibe 1972b, 11; Cissoko 1981, 1). They could not become emperors, but were allowed to rule over certain territories; and like the *nyanthio,* they did not farm, and revelled in military exploits and hunting (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 5).

Nyamakala

This category included, as in the rest of the Mande world, a series of endogamous casted specialists, most notably blacksmiths, leatherworkers, and griots. The social position of the *nyamakala* was highly ambiguous. On the one hand, they were highly respected for their skills and powers, and they played a central role in forming and maintaining the social, political, and economic fabric of the Mande world. On the other, they were also regarded as second-class citizens, described by the *hòròn* 'with condescendence, if not outright contempt' (Conrad & Frank 1995, 2). The existence of casted specialists in the Upper Casamance is

clearly a Manding influence, as none of the other local populations had them. They were also present in the royal court: in Kaabu, each king had his own blacksmith, leatherworker, and griot chosen at the time of the coronation (Cissoko 1969, 331).

Slaves

From prisoners of war, to members of other ethnic groups seized during raids, youngsters sold by their families, and condemned criminals, the status of slaves and the reasons that led them to slavery greatly varied (Lopes 1990, 129-30). Slaves were always attached to a family, and very often adopted the family name. They could also rise to positions of significant military and political importance (Lopes 1990, 22). For instance, the head of the slaves was a key member of the royal court, in charge of the king's coronation, of carrying the royal spear, and of guarding the royal fetishes (Cissoko 1969, 331; Lopes 1990, 22).

Horon, Fulbe and other groups

The *horon* were a heterogeneous group which included both non-aristocratic Manding clans, freed slaves, and others, either employed as warriors or farmers (Lopes 1990, 120-2). Additionally, many other groups appear to have lived in Kaabu, but two played a particular important social and economic role: the Dyula and the Fulbe. The *dyula* were merchants, in charge of Kaabu's trade networks. They were granted free circulation across Kaabu, as well as a safe space and substantial freedom to conduct their business, as long as they paid the required tributes (Lopes 1990, 21-2). The Fulbe, on the other hand, initially player a minor role, but as has been discussed were a key factor in Kaabu's demise. Both the Dyula and the Fulbe appear to have mostly (although not only) lived in separate towns, settlements known as *moricunda* (Niane 1989, 92-3).

Social structure during the Fulaadu

As previously discussed, the fall of Kansala did entail a shift in power balances, but not a radical social reconfiguration. In fact, studies after independence in the 1960s showed how descendants of the previously ruling families still controlled the best farming land and maintained a predominant political position (Quinn 1972). The fall of Kaabu did however alter social structures –and in particular the balance of power within them– in two significant ways. First of all, the Fulbe as a whole ceased to be subject to Manding overlords.

Although Manding rulers kept control over certain territories, in most areas they were forced to either accept Fulbe rule or flee. Secondly, a radical shift in power took place within the Fulbe themselves. As the revolt against Kaabu was led largely by *jiyaaɓe* or *maccuɓe* (Fulbe slaves and their descendants) like Alpha Molo, in the aftermath this group reached formerly unknown levels of power, often above those of their former masters, the *rimɓe* or *toorodo* (Fulbe nobles). This new situation was not taken lightly by the latter, and was at the root of many of the rebellions faced the Fulaadu leaders (Sidibe 1984, 10; N'Gaide 1999).

Political organisation: territories and *nyanthioya*

Both Kaabu and Fulaadu are best characterised as confederations of diverse territories (for an in-depth discussion of their spatial and territorial configurations, see Ch. 4),l inked by fluctuating ties of subordination and collaboration. The fabric holding the different territories together despite this remarkable decentralisation was the *nyanthioya,* and its complex combination of hierarchical, kinship, and class ties. Beyond rotational kingship between the three *nyanthio* territories (Jimara, Pathiana, and Sama), *nyanthioya* tied together elites across the land into a larger political class, a tightly-knit group with common social and political goals (Wright 1980, 18).

Furthermore, although largely elite-centred, the system also included mechanisms for the participation of other social sectors and groups. For instance, all *hòron* of an advanced age had the right to speak during the royal audiences or palavers (Cissoko 1969, 331); and the *nyamakala* also played a central role in court (Cissoko 1969, 334). In Woulli, for instance, the griots were obliged to greet the head leatherworker before they greeted the king every morning (Cissoko 1969, 331). Hyacinthe Hecquard, who travelled across Kaabu in 1850, described how every time a bull was killed, the head belonged to the griot, the kidneys and fillets to the blacksmith, and the skin to the leatherworker (Hecquard 1853, 205). He also noted how among the 'king's people', *'le griot et le forgeron on un rang très élevé et jouissent d'une considération exceptionnelle*'[7] (Hecquard 1853, 205).

In some aspects, it appears the court protocols followed those of Mali. In 1623, the British traveller Richard Jobson (1623, 48-9) described how in an audience with a Gambian king, the guest:

[7] 'the griot and the blacksmith have a highly elevated rank and enjoy an exceptional consideration'

> 'presents himselfe with a great deale of reverence in kneeling on his knee, and comming nearer, layes first his hand upon the bare ground, and the on the toppe of his owne uncovered head, many of them taking up the dust, and laying it upon his bare head, which action he useth twice or thrise';

A protocol which had been described in almost the same exact terms for the imperial court of Mali two centuries earlier by Al-Umari (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 266). In other aspects, however, Kaabu's courts greatly differed from Mali's; most notably in the existence of female rulers, which although not frequent, were far from rare. For instance, the ruler list from Kankelefa collected by Phillot-Almeida (1980, 3), includes three female rulers out of a list of ten; and a similar account from Niumi, features twelve queens or *mansa musow* (Cissoko 1969, 330). Although many accounts present the existence of queens as an early trait of Kaabu, a 'left-over' from Bainouk customs, it appears to have been still in force by the 19th C, when Bertrand-Bocandé (1849, 267) noted that '*les femmes peuvent régner et jouissent d'une grande autorité*' [8].

3.5 Economy and Trade

Most of the information we have about the economy of Kaabu and Fulaadu comes from European sources, and is consequently largely concerned with long-distance trade. From the 15th C onwards, the Portuguese, and later on the Dutch, English, and French set up trading entrepôts along the main rivers (Gambia, Casamance, Bissao, Geba). They bought slaves, bees wax, leather, ivory and gold (Cissoko 1972, 10), in exchange for which they traded a variety of manufactured products and materials, including wine, horses, fabrics, beads, kola nuts, copper, and other metals (Alvares de Almada 1984, 47). Two elements gradually rose in importance until they came to define the nature of the trade: firearms and slaves. In the 17th C, André Brue described how the king of Kaabu (then Biram Mansaté) sold 600 slaves to the Portuguese every year (Labat 1728, 234), and the Spanish missionary Mateo de Anguiano described the Kaabu *mansa* as the largest slave trader of the Upper Guinean Coast (Rodney 1970, 110).

Although most accounts of the Atlantic trade focus on the European trading ports, as this is where most of the information comes from, these were just the tip of a very large and complex set of networks over which Europeans had no control beyond supply and demand. Local elites actively blocked the access of European

8 'women can reign, and enjoy a great authority'

traders to the interior and left the organisation of trade to a network of trading families generally known as *Dyula* (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 5-6; Niane 1989, 94-5). The trading routes towards the interior fell largely on Kaabu's territory, and it was the *mansaba's* duty to guarantee their safety and stability. In the words of the 17th C explorer Brue, the ruler of Kaabu

> '*avoit établi une telle police dans ses États, & tout y étoit si bien réglé, que les marchands pouvoient hardiment laisser leurs marchandises dans les grands chemins sans craindre que personne y touchât*'[9] (Labat 1738, 233).

Trade was subject to a complex system of restrictions and authorisations, managed by the coastal and riverine *mansa*. These latter had the obligation to guarantee the safety of the markets and the merchants, but also had the right to fix the official prices of certain products, and to limit the purchase of others (such as horses, guns, or certain types of clothing) to themselves (Lopes 1990, 158-9). Furthermore, all traders had to pay taxes to the representatives of the *mansaba,* and in some territories (e.g. Niumi), if merchants died their property belonged to the local ruler (Quinn 1972, 5). European traders were therefore well acquainted with the *mansaba*'s tax collectors, and wrote regularly about them, as shown by Manuel Alvares' 1616 complaint about how the *mansaba*'s men were never satisfied and insisted on taxing everything (cited in Lopes 1990, 157).

Taxes were thus levied on trade commodities, but also on farm produce. The *mansaba* collected annual tribute from the different power centres in the subordinate territories, which in turn levied taxes on their surrounding villages, all of which were paid in kind (Sidibe 1972, 13; Phillot-Almeida 1980, 3-4). This pyramid of tax collection did not go unnoticed by European travellers, who often used it to establish which rulers and territories were subordinate to whom (e.g. Donelha 1977, 106).

Although historical references to agriculture and farming are scarce, they are sufficient to reflect their key importance for Kaabu and Fulaadu's structure. The Upper Casamance's lands, were, as they are now, fertile and rich, with abundant game, and many rivers and streams for fishing (Niane 1989, 98-9; Lopes 1990, 149). The Dominican Labat described in the early 18th C how:

---

9 'had established such a police in his States, and everything was so well regulated, that merchants could casually leave their merchandises in the main roads without fearing that anybody would touch them'

'l*es Mandingues généralement parlant sont laborieux, leurs terres sont bien cultivées, on trouve chez eux en abondance tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie, les boeufs, les moutons, les cabris, les volailles de toutes espèces'*[10] (Labat 1728, 356).

Their lands were also rich in corn, rice, and legumes (Lopes 1990, 149), and Sidibe (1972,13) claims cotton was in fact Kaabu's main currency. The importance of agriculture is also reflected in oral traditions, according to which the *mansaba* divined at the beginning of the rains and predicted the nature of the coming season, after which he would retreat and not reappear in public until the harvest (Cissoko 1969, 332; Sidibe 1972b, 15; Niane 1989, 69).

3.6 Clothing and adornment

Information about clothing and adornment comes primarily from two sources: lists of traded items by European merchants and direct descriptions by visitors to the area, both of which stress the economic and social importance of cotton clothes, beads, and jewellery. In the 16th C, Pereira (1506, 108) observed how the people in the Gambia wore blue cotton shirts and breeches. A century later, Moore (1738, 35) noted how the Fulbe only wore cotton clothes which they made themselves. Beads were worn in necklaces and bracelets by both men and women, as well as sown into clothes, hats, and furniture (Hecquard 1853, 195; Labat 1728b, 242). The popularity of different types of beads varied across time and populations, and it is often reported that the Fulbe particularly liked large white and yellow beads, known to traders as 'Fula beads' (Moore 1739, 35). Metal jewellery was also very common, ranging from copper and brass bracelets to gold earrings, iron bracelets, and silver rings (Dapper 1668, 240; Moore 1738, 86; 110; Anon. 1824; Almada 1984, 47).

If clothes were used as markers of status, it was not in a way that the Europeans could easily identify. For instance, Moore (1739, 110) described how slaves were so well dressed

'that it is sometimes a very hard matter to know the slaves from their masters or mistresses ; they very often being better cloathed, especially the females, who have sometimes coral, amber, and silver about their hands and wrists, to the value of twenty or thirty pounds sterling'.

10 'The Manding generally speaking are hard-working, their lands are well cultivated, they have in abundance everything which is necessary for life, cattle, sheep, goats, poultry of all sorts'

Fig. 3.5 Fulbe woman from Kantora, wearing red and yellow beads. Reproduced from Raffennel 1846.

In fact, the attire of Gambian kings was not very different to that of their subordinates, consisting of:

> 'a garment like a surplice, which comes no lower than the knees, a pair of breeches of the same sort of cloth, about seven yards wide, gather'd round the middle ; he wears no stockings, but always a pair of slippers (except when he rides), a small white cotton-cap, and commonly a pair of gold earrings. His people, as well as himself, wear always white cloths and white caps ; and as they are exceedingly black, it makes them look very well' (Moore 1738, 85-6).

Nevertheless, there was one marker of royalty European observers did notice: the royal red cap or *nafo*. Similar to a phrygian cap, the *nafo* was the equivalent of a crown, sometimes decorated with amulets or gazelle horns (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268). The *nafo* is also often mentioned in oral traditions, where 'receiving the cap' is a common expression for becoming king (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268; Niane 1989, 68). Although not as commonly mentioned as the *nafo,* it appears royal insignia included in some cases also a sceptre, as was the case in the Malian imperial court (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 269; Cissé & Kamissoko

1998). It has been suggested that these sceptres might correspond to the objects known as *sono* (Niane 1989, 107-8). First documented by Teixera da Mota (1960) in Guinea Bissau, the *sono (*see Fig.3.6) are iron staffs up to 1,40m long, square in cross-section, with bronze off-shoots curving upwards, topped in most cases by a man on horseback, sometimes accompanied by other figures (Bassani 1979; Niane 1989, 107-8). Some of the documented examples were found by farmers while tilling, others are of unknown origin, but they all appear to come from sites strongly associated with Kaabu, such as Kankelefa or Sumacunda (Teixera da Mota 1960). Nevertheless, in the absence of archaeologically recovered examples or further historical historical information, the dates, connection, and historical significance of the *sono,* as well as their connection to Kaabu, remains unclear.

Fig. 3.6 Sono from Guinea Bissau. Adapted from Bassani 1979.

3.7 Architecture

In terms of building techniques, there is remarkable consistence in the European descriptions of local architecture from the 16th to the 19th C, as they all describe a combination of round, wattle-and-daub and entirely organic constructions with thatched roofs. For instance, writing in 1594, Alvares de Almada said 'some of the houses are of clay and wattle, round in shape, and covered with straw or palm-thatch ; others are of straw, not clay, but are built in the same round shape' (Alvares de Almada 1594, 43). A century later, Richard Jobson (1623, 43) wrote:

> 'some of the houses within their walles, likewise are made of the same Reedes, but the better sort do build the walles of their houses, of loame, (...) the forme of their houses, whether it be loame or Reed, is alwayes round, and the round roofes made lowe, ever covered with reedes, and tyed fast to rafters, that they may be able to abide, and lie fast, in the outragious windes and gusts, that come in the times of raine'.

In the 19th C, Hyacinthe Hecquard confirmed these patterns applied also to the interior, as he noted how in Kankelefa (one of Kaabu's main strongholds, now in Guinea-Bissau) '*les cases sont en terre, couvertes en chaume et sans autre ouverture qu'une porte surmontée d'une espèce d'auvent en paille*'[11]. He also confirmed the houses throughout the region were round (Hecquard 1853, 90-91), and gave one of the few known descriptions of an ordinary hut's interior, whose only furniture consisted of:

> *'un lit formé de six morceaux de bois fichés en terre, recouverts d'une espèce de grosse natte en roseaux et d'une autre de plus fine en paille; à quelques calebasses pour recevoir les aliments, et à deux ou trois jarres en terre crue, construites en même temps que la case, inhérentes au sol et dans lesquelles se conservent les provision'*[12]

As for the shape, form, and structure of the villages, Moore (1738, 109) indicates that the Manding built their houses very close together, whereas the Fulbe left space between them. This last observation is supported by Moore's 18th C depiction of a Fulbe settlement (see Fig.3.7) and by Hecquard's (1853, 185) description of a *fulakunda* a century later:

> *'Cette foulacounda, village de Peulhs pasteurs, comme toutes celles du*

[11] 'the houses are made of earth, covered with thatch, and with no openings other than a door covered by a sort of canopy in straw'

[12] 'a bed made of six pieces of wood sunk into the floor, covered by a sort of thick reed mat and a thinner straw one; there are several calabashes for food, and two or three unbaked earthen pots, built at the same time as the house, built into the floor, and in which provisions are stored'.

Toumané, es fort propre. Elle se compose d'une rue très large et sur laquelle ouvrent les cases, qui ont un alignement parfait. Derrière cette grande rue, il s'en trouve de plus petites, mais dont les cases en paille tressée sont rangées de manière à laisser entre elles un espace assez large pour que le feu ne puisse pas se communiquer de l'une à l'autre. Au milieu de la grande rue sont des meules d'épis de petit mil. Le gros mil, rangé par paquets, est, ainsi que le riz, déposé dans des greniers en paille, élevés sur de forts piquets, à deux pieds du sol, pour les préserver de l'humidité et des insectes; ces greniers son placés derrière les cases, à côté de hangars destinés aux vaches laitières qui ne vont paître qu'aux environs du village [13]

Also conforming to Moore's observation, but regarding the Manding, Berenguer-Féraud (1879, 203), described the interior of a Manding village as:

'composé de groupes de cases et de cours entourées de palissades, tout cela sans ordre, de sorte que les roues sont non-seulement tortueuses, mais si étroites qu'il faut avoir une grande habitude de la localité pour s'y reconnaître[14]*'*

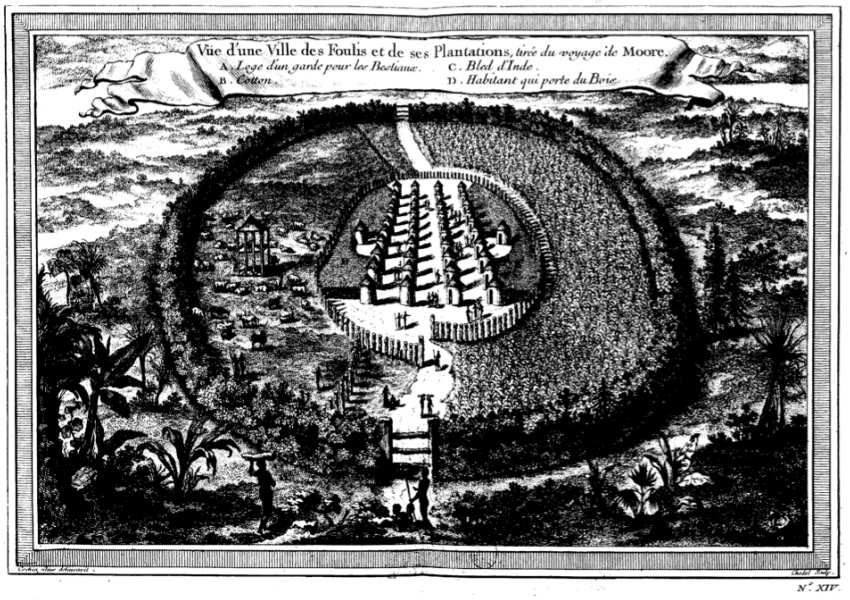


Fig. 3.7 Fulbe village. Reproduced from Prevost 1759, 514.

13 'This foulacounda, village of Peul herders, like all of those in Toumana, is very neat. It consists of a very broad street, onto which the houses open, and which have a perfect alignment. Behind this large street, there are smaller ones, but in which the thatch houses are placed so to leave between them a space large enough to prevent fire spreading from one to the next. In the middle of the large street are the grain grindstones for pearl millet. Sorghum, grouped in packages is, as rice, left in the thatch granaries, raised over strong stakes two feet from the ground, so to protect them from dampness and insects; these granaries are placed behind the houses, next to the sheds for the dairy cows that only graze near the village'

14 'Consisting of groups of houses and courts surrounded by palisades, all without any order, so the streets are not just winding, but also so narrow that it is necessary to be accustomed to the locality to find one's way'

The aspect on which most historical descriptions focus on, however, is not the internal structure of towns and villages, but their enclosures and fortifications. Contrasting with the homogeneity in house forms, enclosures ranged from mere hedges to 12m high fortifications. Locally, these are referred to as *tata* (pl. *tataji*) and *sansan,* terms generally translated as forts/fortresses and stockades/palisades, respectively (Galloway 1980, 32). Nevertheless, I consider 'enclosure' to be a more appropriate translation of *sansan*, as *tataji* can also be referred to as *kelo sansan* (war enclosure) (Niane 1989, 72). This explains the confusion existing in historical written sources, were the two terms are often used interchangeably.

In terms of historical references to these structures, on the simpler end of the scale, Richard Jobson (1623,43) described enclosures made 'of reede, platted and made up together, some sixe foot in height, circling and going round their towne, with doores of the same, in the night time to be orderly shut'. A century later, Francis Moore visited a Gambian settlement which was 'only surrounded with a cane cirk, much like our English hurdles, fastened up with a great number of sticks' (Moore 1738, 114). Next to it, however, was another town, 'fortified with a vast number of ciboa trees, fixed in the ground, and clay stuffed in between, to strengthen it, so that it is little inferior to a brick wall', where the inhabitants of the first enclosure took refuge in times of war (Moore 1738, 114-5).

Insecurity appears, unsurprisingly, to have been a key factor defining both enclosures and site locations. For instance, Berenguer Féraud (1879, 203) notes how:

> *'les Mandingues ont soin en général d'entourer leurs villages d'une palissade qui s'appelle tata et qui est plus ou moins solide, plus ou moins compliquée. Dans les pays du bas de la côte, les villages mandingues sont généralment adossés à un bois, disposition qui a pour but de permettre aux femmes et aux enfants de s'échapper pour se mettre en sureté en cas d'attaque; le front découvert est défendu par une palissade épaisse, quelquefois double, pour résister davantage aux agressions'*[15].

The word *tata,* which Berenguer Féraud uses to refer to any sort of enclosure, is in the Upper Casamance restricted exclusively to fortresses, i.e. large fortifications associated with a territory and a ruler, and it is in this sense that the

15 'The Manding in general have the care sure to surround their villages with a palisade, more or less solid, more or less complex. In the country south of the coast, the Manding villages are generally next to a forest, measure intended to allow women and children to escape and find refuge; the open front is defended by a thick palisade, sometimes double, to resist invasions for longer'

term is used here. The right to build an enclosure or a *tata,* was, as shall be discussed in Ch.4, a tightly regulated matter, which carried important political implications.

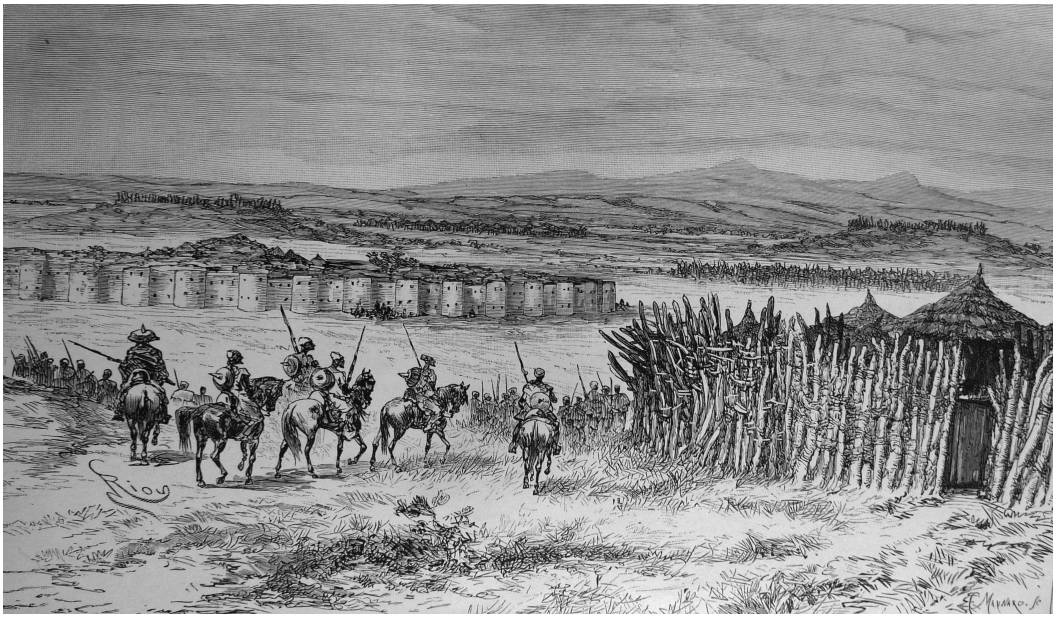


Fig. 3.8 Two types of enclosure. Zig-zag tata and palisade in southern Mali. Reproduced from Binger 1892.

These fortresses or *tata* appear both in oral traditions and European accounts, as they greatly impressed traders and explorers throughout the centuries. Already in the 16th C, Alvares de Almada (1964, 45) described *'fortalezas de guerra* (...) *com suas guaritas, baluartes, praças de armas, nas quais pelejam e frecham*'[16] on the Gambia. A century later, Richard Jobson (1623, 43-4) noted, referring to Gambian king's town:

> 'It is seated upon the Rivers side, and inclosed round, neare to the houses, with hurdles, such as our shepeards use, but they are above ten foot high, and fastened to strong and able poles, the toppes whereof remaine above the hurdle; on the inside in diners places, they have rooms, and buildings, made up like turrets, from whence they within may shoot their arrowes, and throw their darts over the wall, against their approaching enemies; on the outside likewise, round the wall, they have cast a ditch or trench, of a great breadth, & beyond that againe a pretty distance, the whole Towne is circled with posts and peeces of trees, set close and fast into the ground, some five foot high, so thicke, that except in stiles, or places made of purpose, a single man cannot get through, and in the like manner, a small distance off againe, the like

[16] 'war fortresses (...) with their watchtowers, ramparts, courts, from which they fight and shoot'

> defence, and this is as they do signifie unto us, to keepe off the force of horse, to which purpose it seemes to be very strong and availeable ; considering what armes and weapons they have in use, which in this place is necessary to be knowne'

In the 19th C, when Europeans finally travelled inland into Kaabu's territory, we finally get descriptions of some of Kaabu's core strongholds, like the town of Kankelefa, in current Guinea-Bissau. According to Hyacinthe Hécquard (1853, 204):

> *'l'habitation du roi, située sur une hauteur qui domine le pays et au pied de laquelle se trouve un marais plein d'eau durant les pluies, est entourée d'un double tata carré de 12 mètres de hauteur su plus d'un mètre d'épaisseur. Cette fortification est construite d'une manière à former une suite d'angles aigus dont les murs sont garnis de meurtrières et flanqués par quatre tourelles à deux étages'*[17]

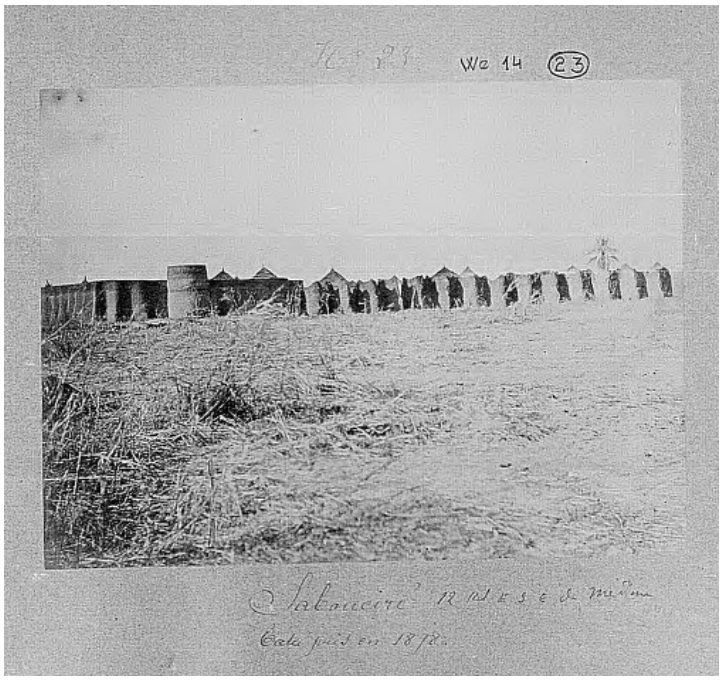


Fig. 3.9 Zig-zag tata in southern Mali. Photo taken by the Mission Galieni in 1878. Source: BnF

Surprised by the zig-zagging walls, Hecquard asked about the reasons behind this shape, and the local rulers replied that it was the only way a mud wall of that height and length could be strong enough (Hecquard 1853, 205).

According to Hecquard, although Kankelefa at this point had 2000-3000

[17] the king's lodgings, located at a height dominating the landscape, and at the foot of which there is a pool which is full during the rains, are surrounded by a double square *tata*, 12m in height and over a meter thick. This fortification is built forming a series of acute angles whose walls are furnished with loopholes and flanked by four two-storey turrets'

inhabitants, only the 'king's people' (around a hundred houses or huts) lived inside the *tata*; it was only in times of war that the rest of the population took refuge there as well (Hecquard 1853, 188, 204-5). Oral traditions have also kept some information regarding Kansala's structure: according to the description recorded by D.T Niane (1989, 64), the town included a series of small forts built by the first kings, called *moun-gniningo* (lit. 'what are you doing here'), each with a tower, which were the king's private quarters. To the east of the palace there was a large square, with a tree known as *tabadjou,* which separated the palace from the *nyanthio* princesses area, and where the young princes would meet to chat and drink. Each enclosure was dominated by watch towers.

3.8 Military power and warfare

For most of its history, the weapons of the Kaabunké armies were bows, arrows, and spears. A detailed description of the weapons used in the region in the 16th C is given by the Portuguese Alvares de Almada (1964, 132) who observed how

> '*as armas dos Manes e Mandimanças são uns arcos pequenos e as frechas pequenas; fazem-nas desta maneira, porque dizem que sendo as suas frechas pequenas e os arcos dos imigos grandes, ficam as suas armas não servindo aos imigos, porque as não podem sacudir nem lançar com força, e eles nos seus arcos se servem das dos imigos, por serem compridas; as adargas que trazem são de verga de pau e rota muito bem tecida e forte, e tamanhas que ficam cobrindo a um homem todo. As espadas curtas e faca em lugar de adarga, e outra atada no bucho do braço esquerdo; azagaias de uns ferros compridos e os contos da mesma maneira, e ficam ferindode ambas as partes; nas geurras trazem dous coldres, que são com muitas frechas*'[18].

Likewise, in the 17th C, the British explorer Richard Jobson (1623, 45) observed how warriors carried:

> 'a spear in their hands, which they call *affegie,* made of reed and some six foot long, with an iron head, barbed, similar to a javeline. Also a sword of about two feet long, with an open handle, made of iron. The higher classes also carry a bow in their hands, with a case in their back, holding 24 very small arrows (made of a reed about the size of a swans quill, two feet long, with a barbed iron head, poisoned'.

[18] 'the weapons of the Manes and Mandimanças are small bows and arrows; they make them in this way because they say that being their arrows small and the bows of their enemies large, their weapons are not useful to their enemies, as they cannot shake or shoot with strength, while their bows can use their enemies' longer ones; their shields are made of twigs and reeds, very well woven and strong, and large enough to completely cover a man. They carry short swords and a knife next to the shield, and another one tied to the left arm; long iron assegais and with long iron butts which wound on both ends; in war they carry quivers, which contain many arrows'

This appears to have still been the case in the 18th C as confirmed by Moore's (1738, 121) observations. Yet, we know thanks to the testimony of Andre Brue that by the 17th C, the Kaabu *mansaba* was already acquiring muskets, pistols, and rifles from the Portuguese, as were other minor rulers (Labat 1728b, 234). Nevertheless, the persistence of descriptions of warriors armed with bows, arrows, and spears would suggest the use of firearms in warfare might have been limited up until the 19th C. From then on both historical descriptions and depictions, and oral traditions confirm guns played a fundamental role in battle. According to a tradition collected by Bakary Sidibe (1980a), the *mansaba* had a cavalry formed by *nyanthio* on white horses carrying sabres and long guns called *lonko,* and *koring* on black horses who carried sabres and short guns called *brentao*.

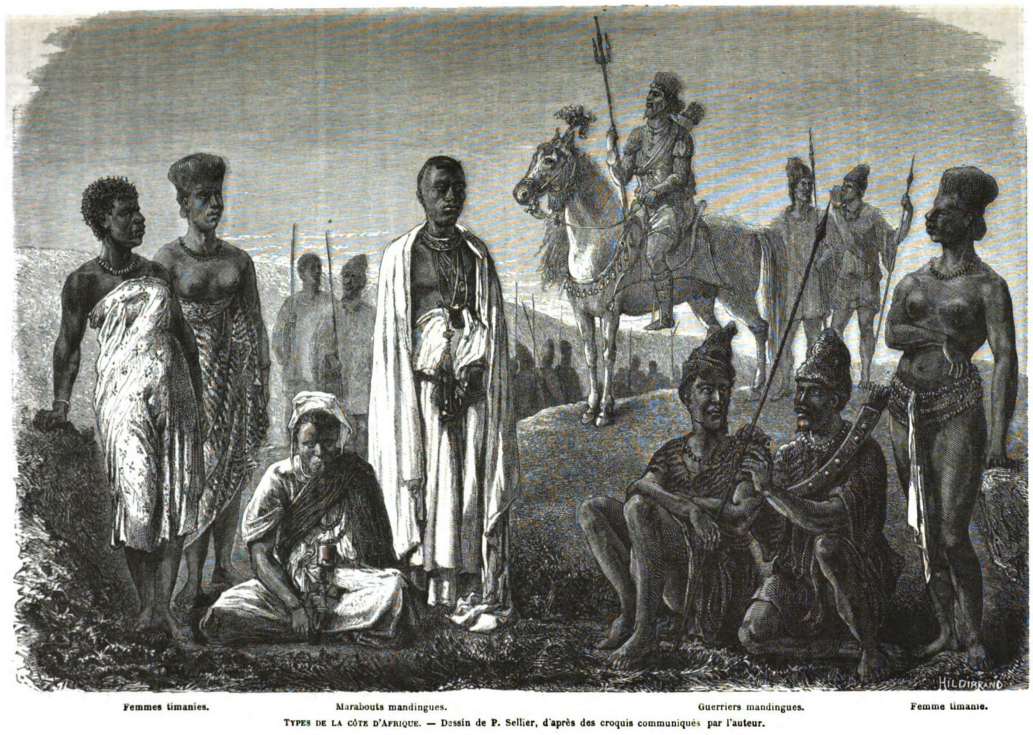


Fig 3.10 Manding warriors and other characters. Reproduced from De Langle 1872

As for the nature of armies and warfare, the 17th C Kaabu mansaba Biram Mansaté:

> '*entretenoit toujours six à sept mille soldats bien armez & bien aguerris, par le moien desquels il tenoit tous les voisins en bride, se faisoit paier regulierement les tribus, & fasoit châtier par des executions militaires ceux qui refusoient de payer, ou se les faisoit demander deux fois*'[19]

[19] 'kept always an army of six to seven thousand soldiers, all well armed and fierce,

(Labat 1728b, 233-4).

Regardless of the accuracy of Labat's number, the *mansaba*'s permanent army appears to have been relatively small, since any substantial operation required summoning those of vassal rulers and governors (Cissoko 1969, 336-7). Furthermore, actual battles were a rare occurrence. As Hécquard (1853, 187) observed:

> *'Il est rare que ces chefs se fassent la guerre. S'il survient entre eux quelques contestations, ils s'en rapportent à l'arbitrage des plus anciens du pays. Si un Etat étranger les attaque, ils unissent leurs forces, qui deviennent alors assez considerables pour qu'ils soient respectés de tous leurs voisins'* [20].

3.9 Religion

Dyalan

Although often translated as 'fetish','oracle', or 'genie', *dyalan* are sacred and powerful places; generally trees, caves or standing stones, connected to a *djinn* or spirit (Girard 1992, 96). They were consulted for advice in times of uncertainty, before battles, and whenever an explanation was required or protection needed. Although the *dyalan* of the Upper Casamance are no longer in use (or at least nobody admits using them), rites associated with *dyalan* were performed up until the 1980s (1992, 193; see. Fig. 3.11). Their origin is more difficult to establish: *dyalan* play a key role in both the Tiramakan story and the *nyanthio* origin myth, as well as in most subsequent traditions; yet they are never mentioned by European sources[21]. This by no means disproves an early origin, since being something so sacred and powerful, it would have probably been kept hidden from foreigners, but it does complicate their dating. A possible solution to the dating issue could be provided by archaeology, as according to Girard (1995, 213-4) in some cases part of the ritual in *dyalan* consisted of taking the sacrifices and libations into the cave (when present), and he himself observed the interior of these caves contained large amounts of sherds and glass (Girard 1995, 20), which could be dated.

---

through which he controlled all his neighbours, obtained regular tributes, and punished by military execution those who refused to pay, or had to be asked twice'

[20] 'It is strange for these chiefs to make war. If problems arise between them, they take them to the elders of the land for arbitration. If a foreign state attacks them, they unite their forces, which then become considerable enough to command respect by all their neighbours, into whose disputes they never get involved'

[21] Girard (1992,100) claims early Portuguese sailors to the Cantor region mention the town of Jalan Coo in their writings, but he does not specify the source and I have not been able to find any such reference.

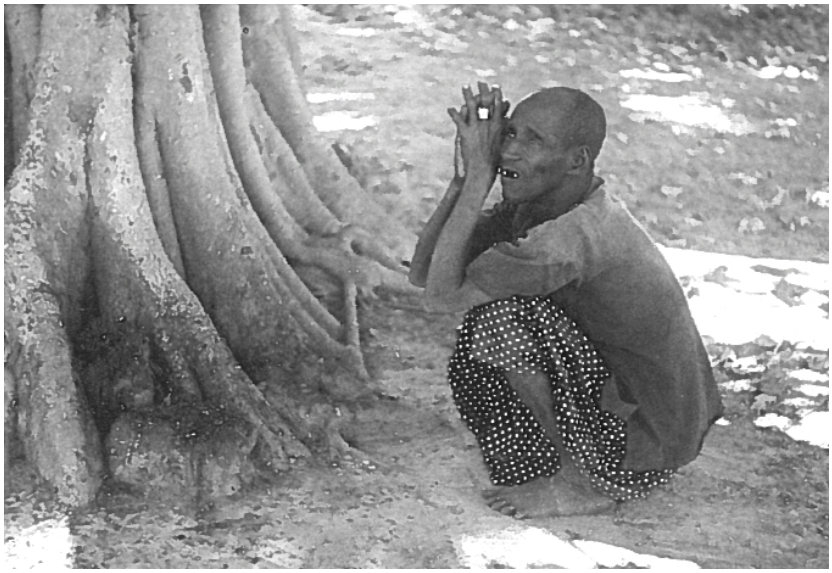


Fig. 3.11 Dyalan still in use in the 1980s, note stone with traces of sacrifices to the left. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

In the meantime, all we can say is that *dyalan* cults do not appear to be recent. According to Niane (1989, 104-5), they were in fact Kaabu's state religion until its demise. The oldest *dyalan* is reportedly that of *Soufa Douta* in Mampatim (Niane 1989, 104-5), but dozens of others exist across the Upper Casamance and the ancient territory of Kaabu. By far the most famous *dyalan* is the Tamba Dibi.

Although authors speak of it as a single occurrence, the locations given for it range from Kansala (Fall 1981, 3; Mane 1989, 24; Niane 1989, 105), to Kaataba (Niane 1989, 105), Kankelefa (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4-5), and Payoungou (cf Ch.6), suggesting that either it moved, or several contemporaneous *dyalan* with the same name existed. Both of these options are likely, as oral traditions establish that in order to create a new *dyalan* it is necessary to transfer some of the power from an older one (Girard 1992, 101). This is a clear example of what has been described elsewhere as 'shrine franchising' (Insoll 2006), and could explain the multiplicity of *dyalan* with the same name.

Other documented *dyalan,* include the Dyalan Bantan in Payoungou, a tortoise in Soumacounda, a magic spear in Wouli, the Fatuma *dyalan* in Kankelefa, and another one at Bonje (Galloway 1974, Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4; Niane 1989, 105). The *dyalan* cult is also closely connected to the Kaabu royalty, as no *mansaba* could take the throne without being first endorsed by the relevant *dyalan* (Cissoko 1989, 332; Girard 1992, 234-35).

Islam

Although the precise date of arrival of Islam to the Senegambia is unclear, it certainly predated that of Portuguese explorers, as in 1506, one of them noted how '*a gente desta terra toda fala a língua dos Mandingas e são macometas que gauradam a lei ou seita de Mafoma*'[22]. He immediately pointed out, however, that they also drank alcohol copiously (Pachecho Pereira 1954, 108). This was still the case in the 18th C, since after a visit to the court of the Gambian kingdom of Barsally, Moore (1738, 85) described how 'the King and all his attendance profess the *Mahometan* religion, notwithsatnding they drink so much strong liquors'. Although there is consensus in all sources regarding alcohol consumption (other examples can be found in Alvares de Almada 1984, 43 or Mollien 1820, 322), there are discrepancies in relation to the degree of Islamic conversion, with authors like Mollien (1820, 322), arguing that both Manding and Fulbe were 'pagans'.

A more nuanced, if also later, view is provided by Berenguer-Féraud (1870, 207), who described how despite being 'officially' Muslim, many Manding had '*une religion assez difficilement compréhensible, mais cependant dans laquelle le polythéisme et la croyance aux sorciers jouent un grand rôle*'[23]. The current elders living in the region also confirm strict conversion is in fact a fairly recent affair, as the grandparents of the current elders still prayed to *dyalan* and drank wine. Consequently, although present in the region for centuries, Islam was until very recently conceived as only one among the several supernatural sources of power and prestige rulers and ordinary people could make use of, part of a diverse and accommodating set of beliefs. For example, it was deemed prestigious for rulers to keep Islamic scholars and *marabouts* at court, but that did in no way exclude the use of *dyalan*. On the contrary, using both guaranteed a more reliable result, and there are in fact reports of *dyalan* spirits converting to Islam (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4).

[22] 'the people from this land speak the language of the Manding and are mahometans that keep the law of Mahoma's sect'

[23] 'a religion not easily understandable, in which polytheism and the belief in sorcerers play a great role'

3.10 Ethnic interactions and negotiations

The distinction between Manding, Fulbe, and to a lesser extent other ethnic groups, is present in European texts since the 16th C. The earliest sources focus largely on the Manding (e.g. Pereira 1954; Alvares de Almada 1964), but from the 17th C onwards the descriptions of the differences between Manding and Fulbe become common. Richard Jobson, for instance, has a whole section entitled 'the wandering Fulbe' (1623, 3) where he describes their physique (handsome and with lighter skin), profession (herders), and subjection to the Manding. As for these latter, Jobson says they are considered the 'lords and commanders of this country, and professe themselves the naturall inhabitants' (Jobson 1623, 37). A century later, Moore (1738, 32-3), described the *Pholeys*, as 'the greatest planters in the country, tho' they are strangers in it', and as those who the Manding entrust their cattle to. Bertrand-Bocandé (1849b, 58), on the other hand, noted how the power of a Manding ruler was determined by the number of '*Fouls*' in his territory, as it was to these latter that he owed his force, power, wealth, and consideration.

Nevertheless, although their presence in early texts is significant, it is important not to get carried away by these ethonyms and the static reified notions of identity they imply, since as discussed in Chapter 2, both 'Manding', 'Fulbe' are not fixed biological realities, but social constructions. This is not to say they are not 'real'; on the contrary, as lived social realities, these classifications have deeply shaped (and been shaped by) the history of the Upper Casamance, but in a far more complex, nuanced, and fluid way that European sources would suggest.

Firstly, because contrary to what Jobson's description implies, biology and ancestry played a very minor role in their configuration. Speaking of 19th C Niumi (a 'Manding' kingdom in the Gambia), Wright (1987, 296) observed how 'the ethnic background of most persons living in the western Mandinka region was mixed to a high degree. In fact, determination of one's ethnicity- that is, the way a person identified himself- seems to have been more a matter of cultural lifestyle than of ancestry or even parentage'. Likewise, as Bertrand-Bocandé (1851, 416) pointed out '*tous les peuples en contact avec les Mandingues adoptent peu à peu les usages et la langue de ces derniers, et finissent par se confondre avec eux*'[24]. It is important, however, to understand that this process of 'Mandinguisation' (Fall 1981, 4) which undeniably took place across the Mali Empire, cannot be understood as a

[24] 'All the peoples in contact with the Manding gradually adopt their customs and language, and end up blending into them'

one-way passive adoption. Like any other such phenomenon (for similar debates on Romanisation see Mattingly 2004), it is a process of active negotiation, undoubtedly defined by marked power imbalances, but in which all the parts shape the outcome. Proof of this negotiation is the unique system of *nyanthioya*, characteristic of many Senegambian polities,but not found elsewhere in the Mali Empire.

Finally, it is necessary not to overemphasise ethnicity at the expense of other forms of identity which might be more meaningful. For example, as previously mentioned, oral traditions suggest that kinship rather than ethnicity was often the key factor in power negotiations, especially at the elite level (Wright 1987, 297). Not all *nyanthio* were Manding and not all Manding were *nyanthio;* the great *nyanthio* warrior Kelefa Sane, for instance, whose epic epitomises the last days of *nyanthioya* was a Diola (Wright 1987, 288-90).

3.11 Overview

In this chapter, I have reviewed the information available for the history of the Upper Casamance prior to this project. I started with a description of the current human landscapes and environment, followed by a review of the information available by period and by theme. From this discussion, it has become clear that the nature, level of detail, and reliability of the information greatly varies depending on the period and aspect covered. Thus, epic traditions largely focus on great warriors and by doing so provide information about historical sequences of events and the political and social structures at the time; while European sources concentrate on trade patterns and chains of command, but also provide details about ordinary life in some of Kaabu's states.

In terms of the region's evolution over time, both the amount of information and the diversity of the sources available gradually decrease as we go further back in time. Nevertheless, by combining the different sources, and acknowledging their biases and limitations, it has been possible to reconstruct the main events that have shaped the Upper Casamance's history over the last millennium. This review, however, is still limited by the very nature of the sources, and in particular by the lack of archaeological data. As was discussed in Ch. 1, while very informative, both griotic epics and European accounts describe only certain aspects of the region's past, and do so from particular perspectives and worldviews, and with specific agendas. While not unbiased (see discussion in Ch. 6), an archaeological perspective can serve to address some of these limitations, providing independent

confirmation (or disproving) claims from other sources (regarding for instance the antiquity of sites). Most importantly, it can complement and build on the existing elite- and story-centric framework thanks to its focus on the materiality of past lives, producing a much more complex, robust, and plural understanding of historical landscapes. It is on this endeavour that the remainder of this thesis will focus.

CHAPTER 4 : SPACE, MOBILITY, AND LANDSCAPES OF POWER IN THE UPPER CASAMANCE HISTORY

In the previous chapters, I have described the ideas and conceptual and factual frameworks on which my work is based. In the chapters that follow, I explore how the data collected as part of this project build on them and contribute to answer the research questions posed in the introduction. Given the overlapping and complementary nature of the different data sources, I have chosen to order the information primarily by scale, rather than source: starting with general principles of regional organisation, moving to how specific sites fit within them, then addressing patterns of intra-site variability, and eventually coming onto individual artefacts and their roles.

Thus, in this chapter I explore the different principles and concepts that have structured the Upper Casamance's landscapes historically, with a specific focus on the articulation of power structures (both political and spiritual), and on the role played by settlement mobility in different periods. This analysis draws on a variety of data, including historical European sources, griotic epics, and ethnographic observations, as well as oral traditions from village elders recorded during fieldwork. After briefly discussing the general limitations that the proposed analysis entails, I proceed to reconstruct the evolution of the Upper Casamance landscapes, starting from the most recent period, and gradually tracing further back into the past. The point of this retrospective gaze is to avoid uncritical projections of the recent into the distant past, by moving from the best known and historical into the less-documented and mythical, while stating at each stage what the evidence is for continuity or lack thereof. Having gone through this process, I finish by reversing the analysis and looking at the different periods chronologically, in order to assess how notions, patterns, and practices have survived, disappeared, and adapted over time.

4.1 Oral traditions: methods and limitations

A total of 32 interviews were conducted with elders in 25 different villages. The literature on this region being rather limited, our candidate list of villages known to have been historically important was initially very short, but it grew exponentially as soon as we started the interviews. Two criteria were used to select the villages where we conducted interviews: first, known historical importance,

either from oral traditions or written records; secondly, known presence of an archaeological site. Our team was composed by Thierry Baldé, an MA student from Dakar University, and native of Kolda, who acted as an interpreter, and myself. Occasionally, our hosts from Mampatim Maoundé, or elders from previously visited villages would come along to introduce us.

The protocol was always the same: on arrival at each village, we would ask for the *jarga's* (village head) compound, and explain the project to him. The excellent coverage of the mobile phone network in the area, as well as the wide family networks of our gradually increasing number of contacts, meant that in most cases we were able to arrange a day for the interview in advance, which greatly sped up the process. As soon as the elders had gathered, we explained the nature of the project, the information we required from them, and opened the floor to any questions or clarifications they required. The interviews were conducted in a combination of Pulaar, Manding, and French, and the full transcripts and translations can be found in Appendix A (except for Int. 3, as the interviewee did not want to be recorded). Interviews were semi-structured, with a series of open general questions, followed by more specific ones as our knowledge of the region's local histories deepened. The questions addressed the history of each village and its surrounding area, notions of its historical roles, as well as local perceptions of the historical landscape. In eight instances, we conducted individual, rather than group, interviews. The first one was with the school director of Mampatim Maoundé, who could not be present the day of the group interview. The following five were in the same village – Kounkane– and the choice was dictated by the reluctance of the elders to gather, on the basis of their advanced age. The seventh was on our second visit to Koumambouré, and followed a request by the interviewee to record without interruption three historical narratives he had heard from his father. The last two were that of El Hadj Alpha Molo Balde, descendant of the Fulbe leader by the same name and renowned Islamic scholar; and Payoungou Seydi, elder from Payoungou who wanted to complement what he had said in the group interview with further information.

In all other cases, it was deemed more productive and time-efficient to interview elders in groups. This strategy had two advantages: first, it was more transparent (since everyone could be present and intervene) and therefore arose less suspicion than individual interviews would have. Secondly, group discussions triggered memories and exposed contradictions in different versions of a story.

There were also problems associated with group dynamics and unequal power relations, such as older men with not much historical knowledge stopping more knowledgeable but younger members of the community from speaking, but this was the exception rather than the norm. Women were often present, but rarely intervened, with the notable exception of Samasansan, where an old woman (Yoba Camara) took the leading role in narrating the village's history.

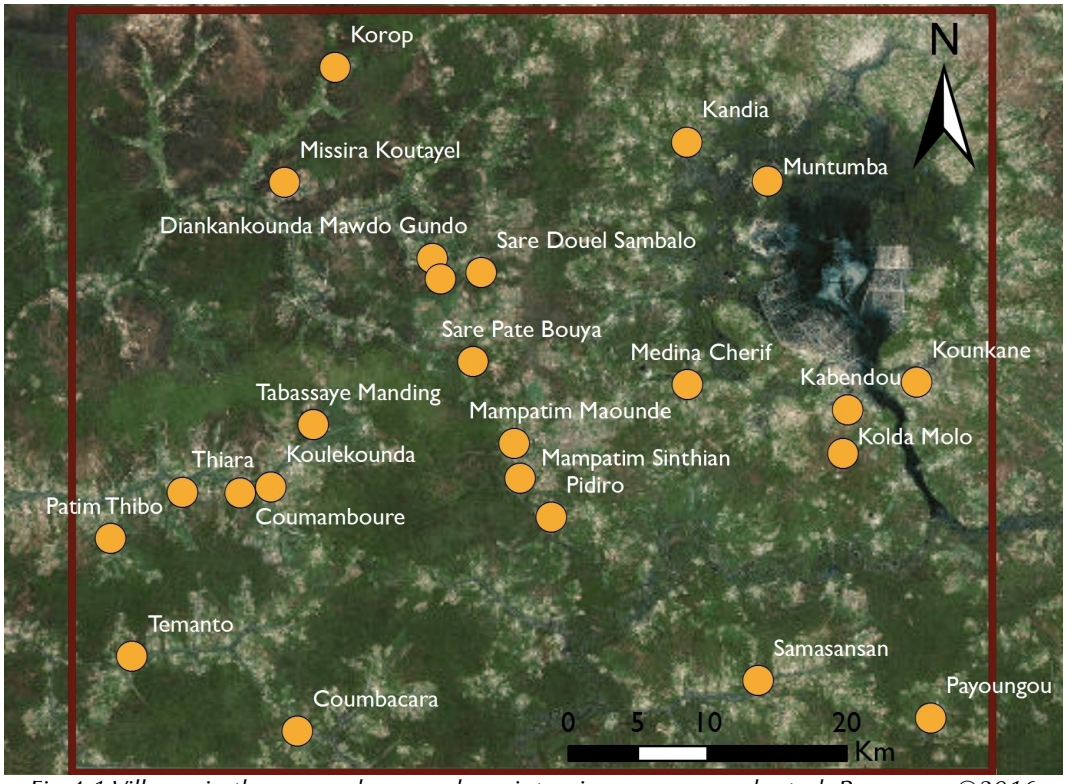


Fig.4.1 Villages in the research area where interviews were conducted. Basemap: ©2016 Google

As was discussed in Ch. 1, oral traditions are a great source of information, but only if we take into account their limitations. Therefore, before I proceed on to analyse the evolution of the Upper Casamance's landscape organisation over time, it is necessary to briefly reflect on those limitations and on the best way to acknowledge and overcome them.

Limitation 1: unsystematic ideological statements, not neutral accounts

Unlike griotic epics, village traditions are not the result of formal learning procedures; in their narratives, elders include stories they heard from their seniors, as well as from griots, and even from radio programmes. If literate, they may also

include information they have read from historical analysis or local *tarikhs*. All of these are amalgamated into a patchwork of stories and ideas, sometimes smoothed out to create a coherent whole, sometimes not, which not only describes the past, but also –consciously or unconsciously– justifies the present. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the social, historical, and political context of the source, as well as the sociopolitical roles played by the different traditions; hence my emphasis on reflecting on the present in order to understand its version of the past.

Limitation 2: dating

Oral traditions are notoriously problematic when it comes to dating, and that is even more the case with unsystematic ones like village elder traditions. The four main periods in which elders divided history were *watu tubacco/watu lammu canton* (the time of the Europeans/of canton power), *watu Fulaadu/watu lammu Fulbe* (the time of the Fulaadu/ of Fulbe rule), and *watu lammu Sébbe* (time of Manding rule), and *watu lammu Bainoukobe* (time of Bainouk rule); with further subdivisions based on the ruler in power at the time (e.g. *watu lammu Alfa Molo* or *watu Yéro Moulaye*). The first three periods are relatively reliable, as they fall at most within the life-time of the current elders' grandfathers, but memories and stories about Kaabu are more problematic.

First of all, because this is a region that has experienced substantial population movements in the last two centuries, which have resulted in a lack of time-depth in most village histories. This is clearly reflected in the short length of *jarga* (village head) lists, which rarely go beyond five or six names; even those of ancestral Kaabu towns like Kabendou only include seven *jarga* (Malang Sané, Int. 12). Therefore, almost all the information regarding Kaabu times (with notable exceptions, like the traditions from Payoungou –Int. 16 & 32) takes the form of relatively standardised epic narratives about Manding heroes, be it Tiramakan, Kelefa Sane or Dianke Wali, rather than of unique village histories.

Secondly, while 'the time of Manding power' is often presented as a uniform whole, in fact it encompassed six centuries of historical change, during which Kaabu's structure undoubtedly evolved. This problem is by no means unique to Kaabu, but is in fact one of the characteristic problems of oral tradition narratives: the focus on origins and ends, with extremely little information about anything in between. In the case of Kaabu, however, we have two substantial advantages: first, that in its latest form, it survived up until the mid-19th C, which means we have both

relatively reliable oral memories and European textual descriptions of its organisation at the time. Secondly, thanks to its proximity to European trading entrepots, we have regular and datable (if often scarce and uninformed) written accounts, making the project of gradually tracing its organisation back in time a viable one.

Limitation 3: updating and terminological anachronisms

Unlike written literature, that becomes fixed in a given historical moment, oral accounts are constantly reshaped by their contemporary context, both in form, content, and interpretation. One way in which this 'updating' takes places is in the use of words of the present to explain concepts of the past, something that was common in our interviews. For instance, the French word *capitale* was often used to refer to Kansala and other power centres of Kaabu (e.g. Int. 1); Musa Molo was called *chef d'État major* (Int. 28), and the assistants of Kaabu's ruler, *conseillers* (Int. 21). These 'updates' also occur with spatial terms, such as *frontière* (Int. 14). While these are particularly easy-to spot examples, as their French origin immediately exposes their anachronistic nature, it is likely that similar processes might be taking place with Manding and Pulaar terms whose date of origin is more difficult to establish. What could seem as a fairly irrelevant observation is anything but, since terminology and ontology go hand in hand, and unravelling the political terminologies associated with each period is a key part of understanding the landscapes of power that characterised them. When available, historical written sources can be of assistance, but in cases where no such sources exist, this is a phenomenon which needs to be taken into account.

4.2 Post-independence landscapes (1960- present)

Sociopolitical organisation

The basic social unit in the Upper Casamance today is the household or compound, known as *gale* in Pulaar and *lu* in Manding. The size of compounds can largely vary, from a few huts to a small hamlet. In Korop, the whole village was in fact a single compound, but this was reported by the villagers as unusual. The head of the compound is the oldest male, and a set of compounds makes a village (*sare*), which has a village head *(jarga)*. Jargahood can be passed on along family lines (from father to son, from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew), but other arrangements are also common. The roles of the *jarga* are varied, including

administrative tasks like collecting taxes, but mostly consisting of guaranteeing the peaceful development of village life (Boutillier 2011, 12). Additionally, the power of the *jarga* is limited by other forces, including religious leaders, councils of elders (*maoubé hala*), and democratically elected regional structures. Villages can be divided into neighbourhoods or *kunda,* named after the lineage that lives in them (e.g. Mballokunda, Manekounda). Satellite villages are also common, generally created by newly arrived populations. There is no standard system for the naming of these new villages: sometimes they are given new names, in other cases they add a modifier to the name of the existing village, like *sinthian* (small, e.g. Korop Sinthian) or the group that lives there (e.g. Diankankounda Manding).

The territory of a village, defined as the land the village has control over/feels responsible for, varies. Rice fields often mark limits between villages, but they can also be shared spaces. Although land arrangements are explicitly stated (everybody knows who the fields belong to and who has the right to cultivate them), they are also fluid. For instance, lands can easily move from one village to another as a result of marriages, long term loans, or the creation of satellite villages (Fanchette 2010, 286-7). Villages tend to be located on the edge of plateaus or valleys, or near the confluence of permanent and seasonal streams, but large permanent rivers and their valleys are generally avoided (Péllissier 1966, 504-6). These areas have the advantage of offering access to three different but equally important environments: flooded areas for the rice fields, fertile plains for dry crops (millet, sorghum, peanut), and large extents of light forest for the grazing of herds (Boutillier 2011).

The political structure immediately above the village is the Rural Community (*Communaté Rural*, or CR) which has an elected president and council, and deals with local matters regarding land tenure, healthcare, culture, sports, education, and urbanism. The next administrative unit is the *Arrondissement*, with a Dakar-appointed subprefect (*sous-préfet*), who reports to a Prefect (*préfet)* at the *Département* level. A series of *Départements* form a *Région*, which has a democratically elected president and council. Beyond *Régions* are national institutions, of which the President of the Republic is the ultimate expression. Interestingly, although the President is generally referred to by the French term (*président*), on multiple occasions I encountered elders who described him with the title used for pre-colonial rulers, i.e *mansa* in Manding or *lamdo* in Pulaar, something which De Jong (2007, 133) also noted.

In addition to institutional networks and groupings, villages in the Upper Casamance are connected by social and historical ties. As a result of population movements, marriages, and work-related migrations over the last century, networks of relatives connect villages across the region, and constitute one of the most effective tools for social mobilisation beyond official structures.

Sacred landscapes

Nowadays, almost all the population of the Upper Casamance is nominally Muslim. Most villages have a mosque, the largest may have several, and there are multiple koranic schools spread across the territory, but pre-Islamic beliefs and practices still play an important role. Age-group initiations are still very common, where the initiates are taken to the 'sacred forest' for a period of time before rejoining society. Many *dyalan* (sacred places, usually trees, inhabited by a spirit – see Ch.3) are remembered, but *dyalan* cults appear to have largely ceased. They are, however, still well remembered, and in two cases (Kounkane and Muntumba), *dyalan* trees showed clear evidence of pieces of bark having been recently removed (see Fig. 4.2), which was explained in terms of their healing and fertility-enhancing properties (Ibrahima Balde, fieldnotes).

Furthermore, even if the rituals associated with them are no longer practised, *dyalan* are still considered places of power, and are sometimes visited by important figures. For instance, the leader of the Casamance independence guerrilla is reported to have visited the Bantangui *dyalan* in Muntumba (Samba Sané, fieldnotes); a powerful Islamic scholar spent a few days camped next to Guedi Nyanthio Bé in Mampatim (Yero Balde, fieldnotes), and the *dyalan* in Korop is said to have spoken to a passer-by in 2012 (Daouda Balde, Int. 27). Furthermore, there are some villages (such as Payoungou or Kandia) that are still considered as 'hot' or dangerous for political authorities, as it is believed that any civil servant or politicians who visit them will inevitably lose their post (APS 2012). Consequently, the current religious landscape of mosques and koranic schools, coexists with reminiscences of an earlier pre-islamic one of *dyalan* and 'ancestral hotspots', both of which have political implications.

Fig.4.2 Dimbatulu healing tree in Kounkane with evidence of recent bark removal

Fig. 4.3 Appearance of the kankourang as part of the initiation ceremonies in Mampatim Maounde, February 2013

Movements and mobility

Although the vast majority of the population of the Upper Casamance is now sedentary –even the Fulbe–, there is still a large degree of movement of both people and settlements. As Sylvie Fanchette (2010, 80) noted

> '*encore fortement empreints de croyances préislamiques, les Peuls Fulakunda fuient presque systématiquement les villages frappés par la mort. Qu'un chef de village ou un marabout puissant décède, que plusieurs personnes viennent à mourir dans la même concession, ou qu'une partie du troupeau soit décimée par maladie, et les Peuls abandonnent leur village pour s'installer ailleurs (…) Parfois, on ne quitte que sa concession pour la reconstruire dans une autre partie du village*'[1].

Fanchette's observations coincide entirely with my own. In addition to individual mobility due to seasonal or permanent work opportunities elsewhere, studies, marriages, or personal disagreements, larger family or even village movements appear to be common, and are of two types: shifts (under 1km) and relocations. Recordings of village traditions and informal conversations with our hosts revealed how relocations could in turn be of four main types:

a) a segment of a village moving to another existing village;
b) a segment moving out and creating its own village.
c) a complete village abandonment followed by a new village foundation elsewhere.
d) a complete village abandonment followed by population dispersion into several existing villages .

The reasons triggering people to leave are quite varied, as are those that lead people to settle in a new place. Abandonment motifs include disagreements with other groups within the village, the desire to create their own place, the death of a community leader, and a series of deaths within a short time. In some cases, villages were abandoned as a result of the insecurity created by political instability in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau (1963-1974), but in all the instances we documented, these abandonments were only temporary and the populations eventually returned. The reasons for choosing an existing village as new residence

1 'still strongly marked by pre-Islamic beliefs, the Fulbe Fulakunda almost systematically flee the villages hit by death. If a village head or powerful marabout dies, if several people die in the same compound, or if a part of the head is decimated by an illness, the Fulbe leave their village to settle elsewhere (...). Sometimes, they only leave their compound to rebuild it elsewhere in the village'

had to do with family or friendship connections with the village head, or with an economic agreement with the village's *jarga*.

As for new foundations, the first step is to ask permission from the *jarga* of the closest village, and this latter will indicate the areas suitable for settling (Moussa Mballo, Int. 13). In some cases, additional advice might be required, because

> 'there are places where you can settle and places where you cannot settle. Everybody knows that, but there are also wise men who know more. It is to this latter that you will ask to know if a place can be settled or not. Because there's places where you can find happiness and others were you won't' (Aliou Balde, Int. 23).

One very common way of solving this problem is to reoccupy an abandoned village, or *tumbu*. For instance, when the ancestors of the current elders at Temanto Tobo decided to leave the Gambia, their leader said 'we'd better find a *tumbu* to settle in' (Aliou Balde, Int. 23). Resettling of *tumbu* is in fact so common that in several instances, when we asked the elders about abandoned villages in the vicinity, the reply was 'they have all been resettled' (Int. 20). This stands in sharp contrast to patterns in the eastern Manden, were abandoned villages (*tomo*) are deemed to be haunted places and actively avoided for settlement (K. MacDonald, *pers.comm*).

The second type of movement, 'shifts', is less obvious, and rarely mentioned by oral traditions unless explicitly asked, but by no means less common. Except for very recent foundations, most of the villages visited had 'moved' from their original position. Sometimes, as in Samasansan (see Ch. 5), these moves were punctuated, and each of the individual moves remembered. In other instances, the movement appeared to have been more gradual, and no individual moves were remembered, only the evidence of their accumulated displacement, reflected in the distance between the original and the present location of the village. The reasons given for these 'shifts' were also quite varied: in villages along the central axis of the region, the most common reason was the construction of the tarmac road, and the benefits derived from its proximity, but earlier shifts were more diverse, following similar reasons to the ones previously described for village abandonments.

4.3 Colonial period (1903-1960)

Sociopolitical organisation

At the village level, structures during the colonial period do not appear to have differed greatly from the current ones. In fact, studies in the Gambia show how the same ruling families controlled the best farming lands and maintained a predominant position before and after 1960 (Quinn 1972). At the regional level, however, the organisation was significantly different. Villages were grouped into *cantons,* ruled by a local *chef de canton,* as the French *politique indigène* policies meant that where compliant, local rulers were left in place, but integrated within the new colonial administrative hierarchy (Person 1981, 2). A series of cantons constituted a *cercle,* which was governed by a French *commandant,* who in turn reported to the District Commander and ultimately to the Government of the Colony. In certain cantons, like Kamako and Mamboua, a further subdivision into *secteurs* was introduced, with *chefs* responsible for one to three dozen villages who served as intermediaries between the *chefs de canton* and the *jargas* (Pélissier 1966, 528).

Fig.4.4 Commemorative painting marking the house of Baba Moulaye, chef de canton in Dabo

From 1903, the Upper Casamance was divided into 11 cantons (later reduced to 10, see Fig.4.5), each ruled by a *chef de canton,* chosen amongst local allies. The *chefs de canton* were in charge of tax collection, providing labour for colonial projects (building structures and military expeditions, mostly), as well as keeping order and enforcing the decisions of the colonial administration more

generally. They also sometimes directly intervened in the appointment of new *jargas,* but it seems to have been through negotiation rather than direct imposition. For instance, in Kabendou (Int. 12) a conflict in the appointment of the new *jarga* during the time Moulaye Siranding (head of the canton of Bissabor), was resolved with an acceptance of Moulaye's candidate by the village elders at the condition that people from Kabendou would be exempted from forced labour and military service. Similarly, in Tabassaye Manding (Int. 17), they reached a compromise by which *jargas* would be appointed by Abdoul Diallo, the *chef de canton*, but always at the suggestion of the village council of elders.

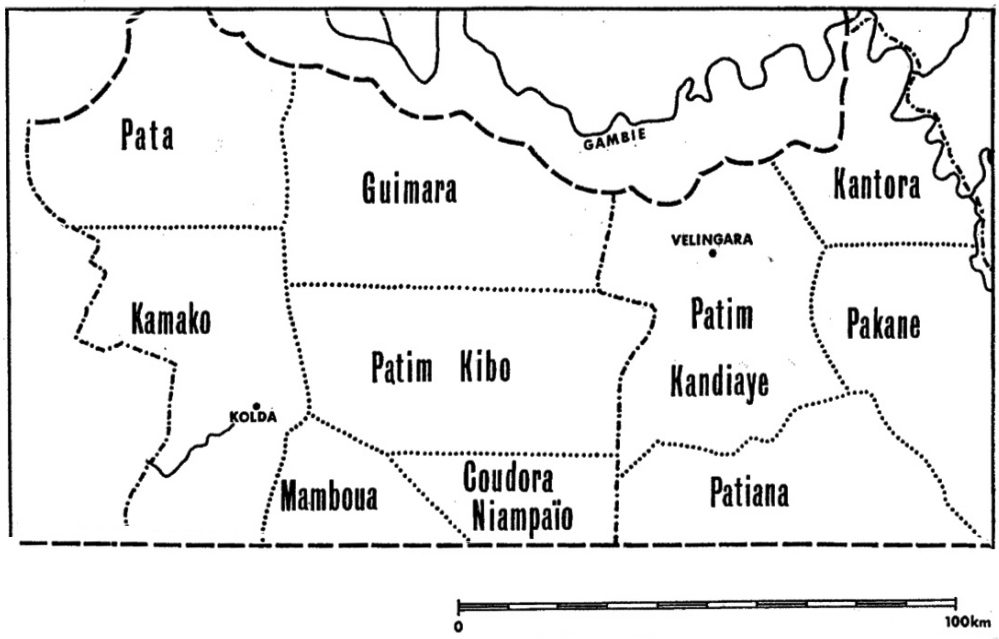


Fig 4.5 Colonial administrative divisions in the 1950s. Adapted from Pelissier 1966

The *chefs de canton* are extremely well remembered by oral traditions, and in fact the canton and the ruler have in most cases become so intrinsically linked in people's memories that it is extremely rare to hear one mentioned without the other. For instance, when asked what canton their villages had belonged to, elders would often reply 'Bissabor of Yéro Moulaye' (Int. 25, Kolda Molo), or 'in the canton of Patim where Abdoul Diallo ruled' (Int 28, Medina Cherif). In some cases, a third element, the place of residence of the *chef de canton,* was also added to the definition. As will be discussed later, this triad (territory, ruler, capital) is a recurrent element in the definition of power networks in the region across history.

Although the *canton* was a French colonial unit, its introduction was particularly successful in areas with Mande political traditions, like the Upper

Casamance, where the cantonal system largely coincided with the traditional political units (*leydi/banco*) in both nature and functions (Suret-Canale 1966, 461-2). This correlation also meant that the articulation of power was still shaped by indigenous notions and categories. For instance, the *chefs de canton* are also regularly described in oral traditions as *lamdo* or *mansa,* and their territories are referred to as *leydi* or *banco*. Additionally, the *chefs de canton* were allowed to have 'traditional' assistants (Zucarelli 1973, 232), which in the Upper Casamance were of three types: *kelengana*, *barula*, and *sufa*.

Kelengana is a Manding word, resulting from the combination of *kele* (war) and *ngana,* 'hero' or 'person of action' (Durán 2007, 570; Johnson & Sisòko 2003, 242-3). This is a term which was recurrent in the interviews with village elders. Mamadou Samba Balde from Kounkane (Int. 8) defined the *kelengana* as 'someone with bravery', 'mystically strong', who was not afraid of anything and who flourished during war or in crisis. Boydo Sabaly (Int. 7), also from Kounkane, said their job was 'at war, in the battlefield' but that they also were present at the court of the *chef de canton*. From these descriptions, it appears the *kelengana* were reputed warriors or military officers at the service of the canton ruler; but in other cases they appear to have operated more like warlords, working independently (cf. Int 11). The names of some reputed *kelengana* have survived, including that of Jata Sabaly from Alarba Kataba, near Guinea Bissau or Jidére Sabaly, at the court of Moulaye Balde, in Bissabor (Int. 7). All elders agreed *kelengana* could come from any ethnic group, as becoming one was entirely a matter of bravery and skill.

The *barula* or *batula*, on the other hand, were the emissaries of rulers, those who executed their orders (Mamadou Samba Balde, Int. 8). In some cases they are also presented as the spokespeople who introduced audiences before the ruler (Int. 6 & 12), and acted as deputy leaders (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). As with the *kelengana,* becoming a *barula* was not a matter of origin, but of trust and skill (Int. 6). Some famous *barula* are still remembered, such as Diam Sow from Kounkane or Assé Molo from Sourouyel (Int. 7). Mory Diao from Kounkane (Int. 6) argued that *barula* were not limited to *chefs de canton,* but that important *jargas* like those of Bayel, Kandiaye, and Niampayo had them as well, which were known as *jonkun*. Alpha Oumar Diakité, from Kounkane (Int. 10), on the other hand, argued that the function of the barula was to go around the villages collecting taxes for the *chef de canton*.

Finally, the *sufa or sofa* was the least well known figure of the three. According to Mamadou Samba Balde from Kounkane (Int. 8), the *sufa* were spokesmen for the chef de canton, which unlike the *barula* did not come and go, but stayed always with the ruler. Mory Diao (Int. 6), on the other hand, said the *sufa* were in charge of attending the ruler's horse, which makes sense in terms of the term's etymology, from the Manding words *so* (horse) and *fa* (father). *Sofa* is in fact a very common term across all the former areas of Mali Empire, but it is not always employed with the same meaning. Depending on the geographical and historical context, it can mean simply 'warrior' (Tymowski 1981, 432), army chief or general (Niane 1965, 53-5; Kesteloot *et al* 1991), head of warrior slaves (Jonckers & Colleyn 1974) or member of the cavalry (Nyerges 1996, 134). In some cases, these meanings are combined: for instance, in Samory Touré's state in 19th C Guinea and southern Mali, the *sofa* were the army's cavalry, recruited entirely from slaves (Klein 2009). As with the Upper Casamance, in Samory's former territories the term *sofa* survived up until the colonial period, where it came to designate the *chef de canton*'s assistants, who supervised tax collection and executed court verdicts (Tymowski 1981, 435-6).

Sacred landscapes

Three main elements, although of different importance, defined the sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance during the colonial period: Christianity, Islam, and *dyalan* cults. Although, as previously discussed, Islam had been present in the Upper Casamance for centuries, it was the large-scale migration of Gabunké marabouts and their followers into the region during this period that led to genuine mass conversions and the construction of mosques in most villages. This expansion also had a direct translation into settlement patterns: from their mother village of Medina el-Hadj, between 1930 and 1950, the Gabunké marabouts and their disciples created over 60 new villages throughout the Kolda region, which together formed a powerful network united by religious and kinship ties (Fanchette 1999, 178).

As for Christianity, although Catholic and Protestant missions had existed in West Africa since the 18th C (Brasseur 1975), it was only with the association of the missions with the 'civilising pursuit' of the colonial project that their presence became significant in the Upper Casamance. Their impact, however, was largely limited to the influence of their schools, as both the advance of Islam and the

hesitant support of the secular French authorities greatly limited their proselytising mission (Salvaing 2006; Brasseur 1975).

Meanwhile, and despite Islamic conversion, *dyalan* cults were still widely spread, as reflected by the number of elders who declared during interviews having performed these rituals in their youth (see Fig. 4.6). This is confirmed by René Legrand's 1912 description of the Upper Casamance's populations:

> *'Ils sont fétichistes, croient à l'existence d'un être supérieur et à l'influence toute-pussante de ses "dialans", esprits bons et mauvais. Ceux-ci revêtent aux yeux des indigènes une forme matérielle sous l'aspect d'arbres sacrés [...]. C'est devant le "dialan", arbre sacré, que se font les sacrifices, les libations destinées à assurer le succès dans les entreprises, la protection des troupeaux et des récoltes. Devant lui se règlent aussi les palabres, et les prévenus sont soumis à l'épreuve qui consiste soit dans l'absorption d'un breuvage préparé par un sorcier, soit dans l'examen des entrailles d'un coq, d'un mouton, etc., qui décide de la culpabilité ou l'innocence de l'accusé'*[2] (Legrand 1912, 252).

Fig.4.6 Yoba Camara from Samasansan, demonstrating how dyalan rituals were done in her youth

2 They are fetishist, they believe in the existence of a higher being and in the all-powerful influence of their 'dialans', good and bad spirits. These take on in the eyes of the indigenous population the material shape of sacred trees [...] It is in front the "dialan", sacred tree, where the sacrifices are made, the libations intended to ensure the success in enterprises, the protection of the herds and harvests. Before it they also hold the palavers, and the accused are subject to a trial consisting in either the intake of a beverage prepared by a sorcerer, or in the examination of the entrails of a cock, sheep, etc., which decides on the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Movements and mobility

The colonial period was marked by substantial population movements, a combination of those already described for the most recent period and others linked to the colonial project itself. These latter were of two types: displacements associated with forced labour and military service, and repopulations to ensure the viability of cash crop cultivation. Forced labour in the Upper Casamance was largely connected with the construction of the road that links Velingara and Kolda, as well as some smaller ones in the interior; and the memory of the suffering it caused on local populations still resonates strongly in oral traditions (e.g. Int 5). Although what had previously been a unified political space (the Fulaadu), became partitioned into French, British, and Portuguese territories; social and family networks still crosscut these boundaries, and populations moved easily across them, depending on which offered best living conditions (Fanchette 2010, 42). For example, in Korop, elders remembered how at the time 'everybody fled to the Gambia to avoid forced labour' (Daouda Balde, Int. 27)

Intrinsically linked to forced labour was the second factor shaping mobility during this period: cash crops, especially peanut and cotton. The main villages of the region (Kolda and Velingara) were founded (or substantially expanded) during this time to act as central nodes in the peanut trade (Fanchette 2010, 58). Having built the necessary entrepôts and the roads to communicate them, however, the colonial authorities still needed enough labour to keep production up. Thus, during the early colonial period, substantial efforts were made to re-populate some areas, and the arrival of new populations was actively encouraged (Fanchette 2010, 33). These arrivals were principally of two types: families who had fled towards Niani and Pakao during the times of Musa Molo, and Gaabunké (Fulbe from Guinea-Bissau) marabout leaders looking for lands to settle (Fanchette 2010, 43-5; N'Gaïdé 1998, 190). The result of this combination of people fleeing and arriving was an extraordinary rate of village abandonments and foundations: as an example, colonial documents record how in the canton of Pathim Kandiaye (an area of approximately 40x40km), 10 villages disappeared and 34 were created in 1958 alone (Fanchette 2010, 81).

In addition to movements directly or indirectly connected to colonialism, similar patterns of short and long distance mobility to the ones existing nowadays appear to have already been in place. For example, in 1904, De La Roncière (cited in Fanchette 1999, 176) mentioned how new village foundations were extremely

common in the Upper Casamance, as it was believed that the more settlements a man had founded, the happier he would be in the afterlife. In fact, most villages we visited had experienced departures and arrivals of different groups during the colonial period; some connected to the colonial project, others resulting from deaths, disagreements, or desires of independence, as is now the case. In Koumambouré, for instance, it was a series of deaths that led a substantial part of the population to depart and create the neighbouring villages of Sinthian Pathe, Samba Coumba, Sinthian Souley and Sinthian Koumambouré (Demba Baldé, Int. 26); whereas in Tabassaye Manding, the Fulbe left mid-way through the colonial period due to a series of disagreements with the rest of the population (Birama Kondjira, Int. 17) As for short distance mobility (i.e. shifts), there is plenty of evidence that villages were gradually 'moving' during this period, but is is largely archaeological and will be discussed in Ch.5.

Fig.4.7 Colonial peanut depot, still in use. Payoungou.

Fig. 4.8 Forced labour building the railway in Guinea in 1904. Source: Archives du Sénégal

4.4.-Fulaadu (1880s-1903)

Sociopolitical organisation

After his victory at Kansala, Alfa Molo divided the 48 small territories that were allocated to him by the Fuuta Jallon army into five major provinces: Firdu, governed by himself; Jimara, ruled by his brother Bakari Demba Balde; Mambua, Patingkuta, and Kamako (Sidibe 1984,8). The administration was largely decentralised, more a mosaic of small principalities or *leydi,* than a unified state (Boutillier 2011,11). These *leydi* were very unequal in size, structure and importance, and the relationship between them was only loosely structured around the figure of Alfa Molo, with his capital at N'Dorna (see Fig. 4.9). This substantially changed with his death and the rise to power of his son Musa, who launched a major program of territorial reforms, removing all traditional leaders and replacing them with trusted allies (Girard 1964). Musa built an administrative structure that was until then missing, with a territorial hierarchy appointed by himself, and a corps of agents responsible only to him (Quinn 1971). He divided his father's five *leydi* into smaller provinces, the total number of which changed over time as new lands were conquered and others became independent. In the treaty signed in November 1883 with the French, 29 territories are listed as being under Musa's control (Bassène 2011,188), but this number could have easily been inflated for

strategic reasons by either or both of the signatories. Descriptions from oral traditions, on the other hand, tend to list a lower number of territories, generally around 10 (e.g. Girard 1992, 269; Fanchette 2010, 29).

These changes were also felt at the local level. Although the system of jargahood appears to have been very similar to the one described for the colonial and post-independence periods, the balances of power and their articulation were different. On the one hand, there was a concentration of power around Alfa and Musa's allies. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) said:

> 'when somebody said “help me feed my family”. Who did they ask for lands? Alfa Molo. Who did they ask for lands? Musa Molo. Who received the lands? Those who fought along Musa Molo. It was them that Musa appointed to reign. It wasn't because you were pretty, no, it was those who fought with Musa'.

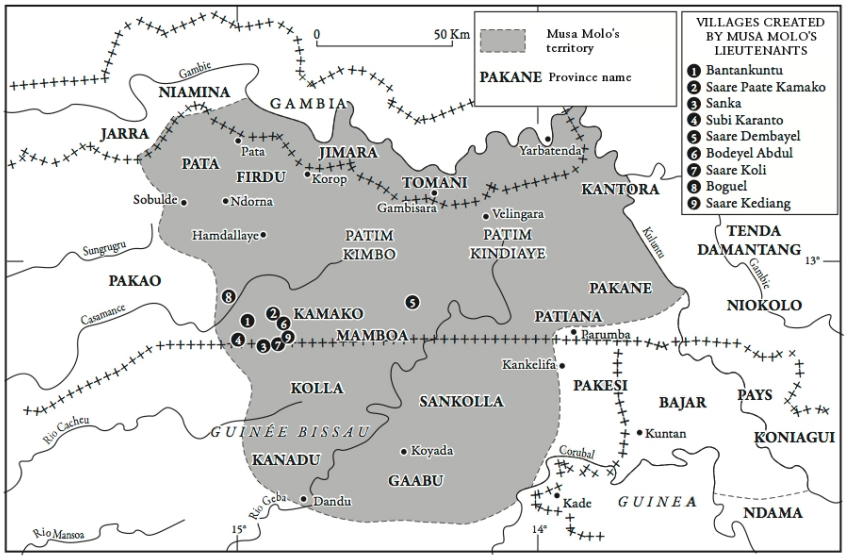


Fig. 4.9 Musa Molo's Fulaadu. Adapted from Fanchette 2010

Additionally, as the elders of Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo (Int. 20) indicated, 'when Musa Molo was in power, he had a representative in place. Like the *président* or the *sous-préfet*'. Sometimes, these representatives were imposed: 'in the time of Musa Molo, when he went to war and conquered a place, he took a Pullo and said 'look over this place' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). In other instances, however, the old jarga stayed in place. For example, in Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo, Molo's representative was a Manding woman, Mame Fatouma Sané. When asked how did she come to assist Musa, the elders replied 'Mame Fatouma was a brave woman, and when he took power, he left her in place because she was a

fighter' (Int. 20).

In other cases, however, the relationship between local powers and Musa Molo was less peaceful. In Korop, for instance, Fanta Sadyel (Musa's paternal cousin) became *jarga* against her cousin's will, thanks to the military backing of the French Commander in Sedhiou (Alpha Balde, Int. 27). In Sare Pate Bouya, a local Fulbe ruler challenged Musa by simply building up military power, since:

> 'after he built his house, he also built a *tata [...].* The elders said 'he's filled seven houses with gunpowder and seven houses with bullets. The Fulbe left to tell Moussa that Pate wanted to betray him, as he had built a *tata* and filled houses with gunpowder' (Sare Pate Bouya elder, Int. 14).

The access to military resources seems in fact to have been one of the key differences between the political structure of the Fulaadu and that of the cantons. While in colonial times military force was centralised and hierarchical, Musa Molo had to rely on the collaboration of vassal rulers and warlords for military force. Thus, although significantly more centralised than his father's, his rule was still largely reliant on alliances and constant power negotiations.

The articulation of regional and local power structures also relied on the three offices described for the canton period: *kelengana*, *barula*, and *sufa*. In some cases, the *kelengana* of this period are refered to as *kelejawara,* which is an unusual etymology, as *Jawara* or *Diawara* is a Manding patronym with no particular warrior associations. Regardless of the origin, in practice the two terms are used as synonyms, and describe a position which appears to have been central to the operation of political power, as the following fragment from Kekouta Camara (Int. 12) in Kabendou indicates:

> 'The Fulbe became jarga because they were in power. The marabouts had told Moussa Molo that if Kabendou became a *tumbun,* he would be captured. For seven years, the *jarga* of Kabendou died every year. After this, Moussa Molo refounded Kabendou. He brought his brother, Yero Egue (...). He said "Yero Egue, as you are *lamdo*, you cannot became *jarga"*. He had brought his *kelejawara* with him, his name was Djide Naffa. He became *jarga,* Yero Eggue became *lamdo'*.

This interview fragment highlights four important aspects of the articulation of political power in the Fulaadu: first of all, the importance of non-Islamic beliefs and practices; secondly, that important political figures had an associated *kelengana* who travelled with them; thirdly, that *jarga* and *lamdo* were mutually exclusive roles; and finally, that *kelejawara* could access political power. Musa

Molo himself is reported to have had many *kelengana,* including Loutan Boula, Pate Buya, Koliyel Ndiawro, Dekka, and Samba Kendo (Malang Diamanka, Int. 29). As in the later period, however, not all *kelengana/kelejawara* were associated with Musa Molo and his subordinates; as oral traditions also reflect the existence of independent *kelengana* or warlords. In Pidiro, Bakary Balde (Int. 11) described how Musa Molo changed his route to chase a *kelengana* who was in the region, but that by the time he arrived the latter had already fled. Dianguiya Mballo from Kandia (Int. 5) described how Musa killed many *kelengana*: 'if he knew you had a certain power, he would kill you'.

Unlike the *kelengana,* the *barula* and the *sufa* appear to have always been linked to a royal court. According to Diango Balde from Médina Cherif (Int. 28), Musa Molo's *barula* were Lountan Boula, Yéro Tacko and Bodio Dembo. When asked what was their relationship with Musa, he answered 'they were his government. He had the authority, and they had the management'. Additionally, they are said to have participated in many battles (and in fact to have died in one in Paroumba); and Lountan Boula is also described as a *lamdo* of his own territory, who had a *tata* in the town of Mballo Kunda (Int. 28). According to the elders at Kandia, the baroula replaced the king when he was absent, and were also Musa's local governors:

> 'they were numerous. Because Musa reigned between Gambia and Koli, in each location, he placed a barula who was in charge of looking after that sort of *communauté rural*. It was Diarra who was here, there was another in Mumtumba, another in Kabendu, another in Mamadi Thiagol, and Mamacunda; it is that way that he distributed them' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5).

Some of these characters, like Diarra in Kandia, are indistinctly referred to as *kelengana* or *barula*, suggesting the two posts, one more military, the other more administrative, were not mutually exclusive.

As for the *sofa*, the elders at Kandia described them as the king's slaves: 'all the tasks for the king were done by the sofa. Even if the king was absent, he stayed in the house and did all the work of the king's wives, even collecting wood' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). The existence of *sofa* is in fact mentioned in a 1904 document entitled *Résidence au Fouladou* in which a French officer described how '*les champs de Moussa Molo s'étendent à perte de vue vers le nord-est d'Hamdallahi vers Faraté où résident ses sofas*'[3] (cited in Benoit 1988, 514) .

3 'the fields of Musa Molo extend as far as one can see towards the north east of Hamdallahi towards Faraté, where his *sofas* live'

Sacred landscapes

While many narratives of this period tend to present it as a gradual victory of Islamic Fulbe principles over Manding pre-Islamic ideas, as has already been discussed, reality was significantly more complex. For one, not all Fulbe leaders were Muslim, while some Manding were. In fact, Musa Molo himself, while notionally Muslim, was notoriously superstitious and surrounded himself with diviners and marabouts. For instance, after conquering Kabendou –one of Kaabu's key strongholds–, Musa was told that should Kabendou be abandoned, he would inevitably be captured, after which he made sure the settlement stayed inhabited for the rest of his rule (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). Additionally, although I have not encountered any direct references to *dyalan* cults during this period, there are several compelling reasons to think such practices were still important. First of all, that they are Manding in origin, and their presence throughout the colonial period would thus imply continuity throughout the Fulaadu. Secondly, that some of the logics behind *dyalan* cults were used to create sacred spaces, this time associated with the Fulaadu. For instance, elders in Pidiro showed us a tree where they said Musa Molo had rested, and as result some branches had turned to the east, and others to the west, which is why it had such a strange spread configuration (Bakary Balde, Int. 11). Similarly, in Diankankounda, the tree under which Musa had his meetings when in town is still remembered; as is the tree in Koumambouré where his father supposedly rested on his way back from Kansala (see Fig.4.10). Although not *dyalan* strictly speaking, these are extraordinary trees which do not just commemorate events, but also embody them and part of their power.

Consequently, the sacred landscapes of the Fulaadu period were an aggregate of multiple, overlapping, and often contradictory notions, combining the older network of *dyalan* and 'places of power', with the new Muslim ideas and the mosques and tombs that represented them, as well as the many hybrid conceptualisations that emerged from the combination of the two.

Fig.4.10 Elders from Koumambouré, their children, and some members of the team in front of the tree where traditions say Alfa Molo rested

Movements and mobility

The final days of Kaabu and the onset of the Fulaadu were, as described in Ch.3, turbulent times, involving considerable population movements. There were substantial displacements out of small villages and towards larger towns due to insecurity, especially towards the end of Musa Molo's rule, as well as continuous migrations towards more stable areas in Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia (Fanchette 2010, 32). The extent of these movements is difficult to quantify, however, as there were no reliable population census until well into the colonial period (Becker *et al* 1983, 200).

One particular phenomenon often mentioned by oral traditions is that of travelling groups of Manding blacksmiths, who settled after a Fulbe ruler offered them protection in exchange for their services. Although there are some examples, both past and present, of Fulbe blacksmiths and silversmiths in the area (see Fig.4.11), metal work is still largely associated with the Manding, which means most Fulbe would have required the services of Manding specialists in order to acquire iron tools and weapons. In Tabassaye Manding, for instance, a group of Manding blacksmiths from the Pakao passed through the village during Alfa Molo's time, and the local *jarga,* Laly, asked them to stay and make tools and weapons for him. When asked if they were forced to stay or they did it of their own volition, the response was 'you know, it's between Pullo and blacksmith. If he treats you well, you will stay [...] where your luck and your food are, that's were you'll settle'

(Birama Kondjira, Int. 17). The same theme is repeated in Diankankounda, where there is a Manding blacksmith village (Diankankounda Manding/Gallouyel) next to a Fulbe one (Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo). When asked what the relationship between these two villages was, the elders replied 'it's a relationship of fraternity between blacksmiths and Fulbe' (Int 21).

Not all were abandonments and departures, however. After the initial flight, many Manding populations returned. In the words of Ousmane Camara from Payoungou (Int. 16) 'After the fall of Kaabu the Fulbe took power. When the Manding returned, the Fulbe gave them back their lands'. Villages like Pidiro (Int. 11), Samasansan (Int. 30) or Diakankounda (Int. 21) were founded during this period, and others like Mampatim Sinthian (Int. 1) were resettled after having been abandoned by their previous inhabitants. These diverse foundations and abandonments were in some cases related to the historical circumstances, but also often the product of the usual motifs described for earlier periods, such as deaths of elders (Diankankounda, Int. 21), disagreements, and repeated deaths that made the village 'hot', i.e. dangerous (e.g. Sare Hogo, Int. 28).

Another important factor for population movements during this period is slavery. Alfa and Musa Molo's wars generated large amounts of captives:

> 'Whenever Musa took control of a territory, wherever he fought the Manding and defeated them, he captured some among them to make them slaves. Once he had been made slaves, he took their children to sell them to the blacks from Tanda, who were Bassaris. Having sold them, he bought fabrics or exchanged them for goats' (Mamadou Seydi, Int. 5).

Fig. 4.11 Fulbe silversmith from Dabo in 2013

Additionally, many hundreds of these captives lived in N'Dorna and Hamdallaye, and many more were sent to defend areas near the Fulaadu borders, where they founded many villages. Later on, as the abolition of slavery became gradually effective, the newly emancipated slaves moved again, leading to a substantial wave of new village creations (Fanchette 1999, 170).

4.5.- Kaabu (13th C- 1880s)

Territorial and political organisation

Much like the colonial *canton* or the Fulaadu *leydi,* Kaabu's *banco* (meaning literally 'soil' or 'land' in Manding) were loosely defined political spaces, identified by a name, a ruler, and a power centre. It is unclear how many *banco* Kaabu had, and the number most likely changed over time, as provinces split, reassembled, and new conquests were made and lost (Niane 1989, 53-4). The total number of Kaabu's *banco* given by oral traditions varies, but three ures are often repeated: thirty-two (Leary 1972, 13 ; Mané 1981, 2; Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32; Ousmane Camara, Int. 16), thirty-three (Bouly Mané, Int. 21) and fourty-seven (Mané 1979,154; Cissoko 1981, 3). Table 4.1 includes a comprehensive list of the territories generally associated with Kaabu, ordered by popularity in oral traditions and written accounts.

We do not know how these territories were structured prior to the establishment of *nyanthioya*, which as discussed in Ch.3, could have taken place any time between the 14th and the 17th C. After the institution of the *nyanthioya* and the designation of Kansala as capital, however, a clearly defined tripartite structure came to characterise Kaabu's political organisation. At its core were the three *nyanthio* provinces (Pathiana, Sama, and Jimara), from which Kaabu's rulers were chosen. In second place were the three *koring* territories (Kantor, Tumana, and Mana), each vassal to a *nyanthio* province (Kantor and Mana to Pathiana, Tumana to Jimara) (Cissoko 1981,1; Niane 1989, 45) (see Fig. 4.2). Beyond these two groups, the status of the different *banco* varied, with their degree of autonomy being largely proportional to their rate of 'mandinguisation' (Mané 1989, 26). In general terms, however, centralisation was extremely loose, limited to annual taxes and war, which meant most territories organised themselves according to their local particularities, as indicated by both oral traditions and European accounts.

For instance, in the small territories along the Gambia (Niomi, Badibou,

Diara), the state was a confederation of 2-5 clans united by kinship, each of which would take power in rotational turn. In some cases, like Badibou, the reigns were limited to 7 years (Cissoko 1969, 330); while larger territories like Woulli tended to have more authoritarian systems of government, where a single clan controlled power (Cissoko 1969, 330-1). The confederate nature of some of these territories is reflected in Hecquard's 1853 description of the organisation of the *nyanthio* province of Toumana:

> *'Le Toumane se divise en plusieurs petites provinces, ou fractions de territoire, qui forment une espèce de confédération. Chacune d'elles a son chef particulier, dont le pouvoir, absolu du reste, se transment en ligne collatérale : c'est-à-dire- que le frère succède au frère, et qu'à defaut de frère seulement, le fils aîné hérite des biens et du pouvoir de son père. Il est rare que ces chefs se fassent la guerre. S'il survient entre eux quelques contestations, ils s'en rapportent à l'arbitrage des plus anciens du pays. Si un Etat étranger les attaque, ils unissent leurs forces, qui deviennent alors assez considerables pour qu'ils soient respectés de tous leurs voisins, aux querelles ils ne se mèlent jamais'*[4] (Hecquard 1853, 187).

In practice, each of these territories was defined as a network of *tatas,* military strongholds and administrative centres that surveilled the land and protected it. Very often, some of the smaller *banco* were little more than a *tata* placed in the middle of the bush, surrounded by agricultural fields and Fulbe families with their herds (Benoit 1988, 510). Although as discussed in Ch.3, a *tata* was always a sign of political power, the importance of *tataji* greatly varied. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) indicated:

> 'there were places that had a *tata* but were not important. They didn't all have the same relevance. The most powerful ones were Kansala, Kankelefa, Payoungou, Kabendou, and Kopara. But there were also less important *tatas*, *tatas* with only one compound on the inside'.

4 'The Tumana is divided into several smaller provinces, or fractions of territory, which form a sort of confederation. Each one has its particular chief, whose power, which is absolute, is transmitted collaterally, i.e. the brother succeeds the brother, and only in the absence of a brother, the eldest son inherits the goods and power of his father. It is rare for these chiefs to make war. If it happens that there are some disputes between them, they take them to the arbitration of the elders of the country. If a foreign state attacks them, they unite their forces, which become then quite considerable, so they are respected by all their neighbours, into whose affairs they never meddle'

Table 4.1 'Provinces' of Kaabu cited in oral traditions and written texts

Frequently cited	**Occasionally cited**		**Rarely cited**	
Jimara	Kongara	Foroya	Bissaboori	Sanno
Pathiana	Woulli	Kandiaye	Damantang	Kinara
Sama	Kandia	Koli	Kaataba	Manaoisié
Kantor	Jarra	Pirada	Kakaari	Kades
Tumana	Kombo	Saloum	Kansonko	Mambao
Manna	Niomi	Sotuma	Kareesi	Lorcounda
Sankola	Bajar	Kabomba	Koopara	Paddinka
Koussara	Chanya	Busan	Koose	Loulouma
Propana	Pakao	Jaxima	Korubali	Tiracounda
Badora	Mambua	Kabuba	Maani	Bissau
Pakisse	Baddibu	Kudor	Mamakunda	Bondu
Kolla	Fogni	Kudora	Mampatim	Boudie
Kanadu	Jokadu	Kuor	Soofanyama	Kusala
Nampayo	Niani	Lama	Binafa	Sanno
Birassou	Nyamina	Morikunda	Chewel Lawo	Bassari
Pajadi	Sandu	Woye	Cana	Cana
Pakane	Mansuan		Jeega	Paji
Pating	Base		Paji	Kangara
Mancrossé	Basun		Kuyara	Kubotu
Firdu	Buloli		Lurinkunda	Farim
Kamoko	Karesi		Mansomini	
Mansuna	Kose		Thyankunda	
Thiana	Talto		Panounkou	
Korbala	Basari		Djimbourg	
Wuropana	Kafia		Konyaji	
Kiang	Dyèga		Maru	

The *tatas* fulfilled both practical and symbolic functions. On the one hand, as discussed in Ch.3, they could be large defensive structures, capable of resisting sieges and attacks, as reflected in the following description of the Toumana region in the 19th C:

> '*Chaque chef réside dans un tata généralement bien construit. Celui de Mané a deux enceintes, séparées par un espace de 6 metres environ, au milieu duquel est creusé un fossé de 3 mètres. Ce tata est flanqué de tourelles carrées, assez hautes pour dominer tout le plateau, et, en cas de sédition intérieure, balayer de leurs feux le corps même du tata. Quand la guerre éclate au dehors, les habitants abandonnent leurs villages, emmènent avec eux leurs troupeaux et viennent se refugier dans ces tatas, qui son imprenables pour des noirs. Dans le cas d'une guerre offensive, tous les hommes pouvant porter les armes et supporter de longues marches se mettent en campagne. Le reste de la population se renferme dans les tatas, dont ils font la défense*[5]' (Hecquard 1853,

5 'Each chief lives in a generally well-built *tata*. That of Mané has two enclosures, separated by a a space of around 6m, in the middle of which there is a 3 metre ditch. This *tata* is flanked by square turrets, high enough to dominate all the plateau, and, in case of internal rebellion, to sweep the core of the *tata* with fire. When war breaks out on the outside, the inhabitants abandon their

188).

Beyond their practical functions, however, *tatas* were also key in the conceptualisation of Kaabu's landscapes, as reflected by both oral traditions and European accounts. They were the nodes that defined the military and political landscapes, as well as an intrinsically Manding manifestation. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) put it, 'where *tatas* can be found, that's where the Manding lived. The Fulbe did not build *tatas*. They were subjugated. Does somebody who's subjugated have the courage to build a *tata*?' (Int. 12). The very presence of a *tata* thus defined the existence of a state-controlled territory linked to Manding political traditions, whereas their absence marked a no-man's land suitable for raiding (Benoit 1988).

In several occasions, elders referred to these *tata* sites as *capitales* (e.g. Int 1), using the French term. Although this is clearly an anachronism, it raises pertinent questions regarding the nature of these power centres; questions which also affect the rest of the Mali Empire. The issue of whether Mali was structured around a single or multiple capitals, or whether 'capital' is altogether a useful term to understand its political structures has been, and still is, highly debated. David Conrad (1994, 365) has suggested that *mansadugu* (king's town) is a much better term than capital, as it does not imply a single and permanent seat of power, suggesting instead that the centre of authority was where the *mansa* happened to be.

Back to Kaabu, while the term *mansadugu* was not mentioned in any of our interviews, it is not alien to the elders' conceptualisation of political power, which as discussed earlier, is marked by the triad ruler-territory-town. In fact, this term is entirely appropriate for the colonial and Fulaadu periods, when centres of political power were short-lived and intrinsically linked to the ruler that created them (e.g. Alpha Molo with N'Dorna, Musa Molo with Hamdallahi).

During Kaabu, however, the situation appears to have been different, or at least it is remembered as such. Towns like Kansala, Payoungou or Mampatim are consistently characterised as permanent pillars of power, not attached to a particular ruler or reign. Even sites whose creation is associated directly to a particular individual (like Kelefa and Kankelefa) are presented as largely outliving

villages, take with them their herds and take refuge inside these *tatas*, which are impregnable to the blacks. In the case of an offensive war, all the men capable of carrying weapons and enduring long walks go on campaign. The rest of the population locks itself in the *tatas* and defend them'

their creator. Yet, in terminological terms, there appears to be no direct Manding equivalent for 'capital'. In one occasion, an elder (Malang Dourbaly, Int. 16) used the word *tenda* as a direct translation of 'capital', but this was the only time *tenda* was mentioned. The word *tèndaa* has been reported elsewhere to mean riverine port (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 384). In the vast majority of cases, however, places like Kansala, Payoungou or Kankelefa were described as villages of power (*saré lammu* in Pulaar), *capitales* (using the French term), or simply as the main town of a given *leydi/banco*, without any further qualification. Nevertheless, I believe the insistence of oral traditions on the permanence of seats of power like Kansala, makes the term 'capital' a useful and appropriate one for understanding Kaabu's structures, regardless of whether there is an indigenous equivalent or not.

The last and best remembered capital of Kaabu was Kansala, located in the territory of Pachesi, where it enjoyed a strategic geographic position: it bordered the three *nyanthio* provinces, it was in close proximity to some of Kaabu's most important military strongholds, as well as a reasonable distance from the main trading ports, but far enough to avoid direct European visits (Niane 1989, 64).

As previously discussed, it is not clear when the capital moved there, but all oral traditions agree that Kansala was not its original location. Several griotic traditions claim that Kaabu's first capital was located in Mampatim (Fall 1981, 2 ; Mane 1989, 21); and the elders of Payoungou (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16), argue that Payoungou was the seat of power prior to the move to Kansala, but no additional evidence exists to back either of these claims.

Thanks to the abundance of epic griotic traditions on Kaabu's rulers and on the interest of European sources in figuring out local hierarchies, we have a substantial amount of information regarding Kaabu's political structures. At the head of each *banco* was a *mansa* (ruler, pl. *mansaw*), of which there were several types. The *dioung-dioung mansaw,* named after the royal insignia (the *dioung-dioung* drums) were at the bottom of the ruling hierarchy.

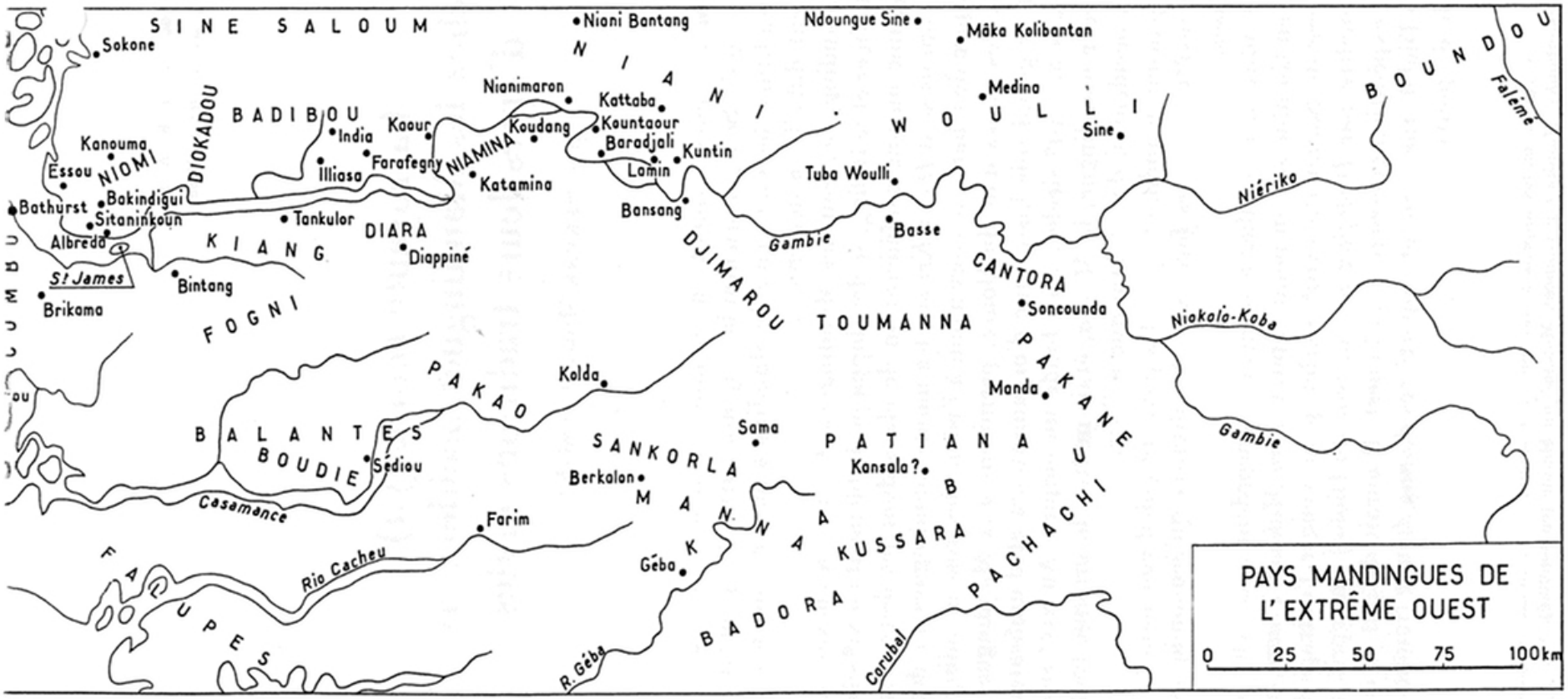


Fig. 4.12 Regions of Kaabu. Reproduced from Cissoko 1969

Next were the *farin mansaw* (warrior kings), who had an army and lived off war. These *farin* appear to have been quite common along the Gambia, as together with *mansa, farin* is the most commonly cited title by 15th C and 16th C sources (e.g. Jobson 1623, 58; Gomes 1959, 35; Alvares de Almada 1964, 55; Donelha 1977, 120). The *farin mansa* in the border territories were also known as *kanta mansa* (guardian kings) (Cissoko 1969, 335-6).

Each *mansa* or *farin* had a court and the power to collect taxes, but it owed obedience to the *mansaba* ('great king', or emperor), who bestowed the right to fortify towns (Niane 1989, 71-2). Central taxes were collected by the *mansaba*'s agents, generally the *koring* from the territories of Sankolla and Kantora (Niane 1989, 73). The power of the *mansaba,* however, appears to have been limited, both materially and militarily, as his personal army was reduced and any expeditions required calling upon the rulers of the different territories. These limitations are clearly reflected in the description by Lasana Kuyate (griot from Chewel Lawo, Velingara) of the reaction of the Sumakunda rulers after the fall of Kansala:

> 'Because Sumaa Maane of Tumanna Suma Kunda had founded Jimara Sumaa Kunda, when Jimara Sumaa Kunda collected taxes they sent taxes they collected to Tumanna Sumaa Kunda for remittence to Kansala. This tax was paid once a year in the dry season in the form of cattle, cloth, goats, and sheep. But after the fall of Kansala, when Tumanna still continued to demand that tax be forwarded, Jimara Sumaa Kunda refused. "Why should we pay tribute", they asked, "when Kansala no longer exists?" So Jimara Sumaa Kunda then called on Numu Kunda, Chaa Kunda, Dobang Kunda, and Baa Sansango, the four forts it controlled, when Tumanna came after their taxes with an army. They met the invaders at Kojja, south of Sumaa Kunda, where they had gotten lost, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them' (Lasana Kuyaté, cited in Galloway 1980, 17).

Despite these material limitations, however, the *mansaba* was mystically revered as the father of the people, and surrounded by great mystique and respect (Cissoko 1969, 338).

While European sources often write about the *mansaba's* warriors and agents, they never refer to them by their Manding titles, but oral traditions are full of references to Kaabu's *kelejawara/kelengana*. Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12), for instance, explained how 'the *kelejawara* were important as it was them who went to combat. It was them who helped in the different expeditions, it was them who were rewarded'. Kings were always accompanied by *kelejawara* warriors (Ousmane Camara, Payoungou, Int 16), and it was those warriors who inhabited the

tatas across the land (Kekouta Camara, Kabendou, Int. 16). As with later periods, some of the names of these *kelejawara* are remembered, such as Koring Mané, Dianke Wali's man in Koumambouré (Demba Balde, Int. 26).

Although I have not encountered any mentions to *barula* or *sufa* in historical written accounts or elder traditions about Kaabu, *barula* feature prominently in a version of the Tiramakhan epic collected by the Portuguese colonial officer Francisco Grandao. This tradition describes how during the Manding conquest of the Senegambia, all the conquered territories were left under the control of a 'batulai' or assistants of the king, after whom the original provinces were named (Grandao 1947, 450). The absence of references to *sofa* is intriguing, as out of these three categories, the *sofa* is the one most strongly associated with the Mali empire, and Mage (1868, 82) extensively mentions the role of *sofa* or 'warrior slaves' in southern Mali at the time of Kaabu's decline.

With regards to local administration, no European account mentions the term *jarga,* but they describe a system of operation very similar to the one known for later periods, as shown by the following description:

> *'Dans chaque village sonniqué[6], il y a un chef qui administre la justice et profite des amendes, Il est assisté du conseil des principaux et surtoute des vieillards du village ; tout est reglé d'après des usages constants, et leurs assemblées se tiennent avec les plus grand ordre. Le roi est considéré comme le propiétaire du pays; mais ce n'est pas lui qui est chargé de le défendre: il y a enconre un commandant militaire, qui doit être le premier soldat, et avoir prouvé son courage par des actions d'éclat'*[7] (Bertrand-Bocande1849b, 59).

In relation to the village head, he adds:

> *'il est ordinairement le représentant des héritieres de la familles des premiers occupants. On reconnait ses droits sur les terres restées incultes ; les terrains cultivés sont la propriété de celui qui les défriche, les fruits sauvages appartienent à celui qui les cueille'*[8] (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268).

Nevertheless, this description refers to the period at the very end of Kaabu, and does not necessarily represent village level structures in earlier times, for which

6 In this case *soninké* refers to the non-Muslim Manding living in the area.

7 'In each Soninke village, there is a chief who administers justice and benefits from fines. He is assisted by a council of village leaders and, most importantly, elders; everything is regulated by customs, and their assemblies take place with the greatest of orders. The king is considered as the owner of the country; but it is not him who is in charge of defending it: there is also a military commander, who must be the first soldier, and to have proven his courage with his exploits'

8 'he is normally the representative of the heirs of the families of the first inhabitants. His rights over uncultivated lands are recognised; cultivated lands are the property of that who clears them out; wild fruit belong to whoever picks them'

we have no information.

Sacred landscapes

As discussed in Ch. 3, *dyalan* were absolutely fundamental to Kaabu's ideology and operation. Kaabu's ruling elite derived its legitimacy from their mythical origin at Guedi Nyanthio Bé, and all the candidates to *mansaba* of Kaabu had to first receive the approval of several *dyalan,* including those in Payoungou, Kankelefa, and Kansala. Important decisions about war and peace were also run through the relevant *dyalan,* and critical state meetings were held before them (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16). Kaabu's *dyalan* thus constituted a network of power loci which largely coincided with that of political authority, as all the great *dyalan* were located in, or in the vicinity of, Kaabu's main political centres. These *dyalan* were not isolated, but conceived as a network of interrelated locales, connected by relationships of kinship and hierarchy. For example, elders at Payoungou claim that their Tamba Dibi was the original, and therefore senior to the rest of Tamba Dibi discussed in Ch. 3 (Ousmane Camara & Moussa Sane, Int. 16).

Contrasting with the mobility of settlements, the permanent nature of *dyalan* is remarkable. Standing stones and caves cannot move, and trees are literally rooted in the ground. Although as living creatures, the life span of trees is obviously shorter, *dyalan* trees can pass their status to their descendants, i.e. the trees grown from the seeds of the original *dyalan*. For instance, in Payoungou the current Tamba Dibi is the 'son' of the original one, as it grew from its seeds (Payoungou Seydi, fieldnotes). Consequently, while the rest of the landscape moved around them, *dyalan* stayed in place.

In addition to the *dyalan,* both epic narratives and village traditions often refer to 'power hotspots', on which great towns could be built and/or forces amassed. For instance, the reason why Tiramakan decided to stay in Kayes during the rainy season –according to the version recorded in Kabendou– was that 'he walked along the river and noticed it was a place of power. He talked to his companions and said: this place is a land of power (*leydi lammu)*. Then he went to talk to the king' (Malang Sané, Int. 12). This conceptualisation of the landscape as a network of power locations, 'a spatial blueprint of power' (McIntosh 1988, 28-9) from which energy can be harvested, is not limited to the Upper Casamance, but is in fact extremely common in myths and epic narratives across the former Mali empire, most commonly expressed through the motif of the hero who travels to

foreign lands in the quest of knowledge and power (e.g. Dieterlen 1957; Cissé 1964; Bird & Kendall 1980).

As for Islam, as previously discussed, we know from historical sources that it was present in the royal courts of Kaabu since at least the 15th C, but its influence appears to have been limited and with no particular expression at the landscape level.

Movements and mobility

As we go further back in time, the information about mobility patterns becomes more vague and scarce, but there are some indications that both long and short distance mobility patterns were in place throughout most of Kaabu's history. In terms of village abandonments and relocations, Bertrand Bocandé noted in the 19th how the Fulbe people:

> '*reste sur les terres qu'on lui a prêtées tant qu'il y troue une hospitalité convenable; il se tient toujours prêt à partir. S'il redoute quleques exactions, il déserte dans un instant et va s'établir ailleurs avec ses troupeaux, emportant toute ce qui lui appartient ; il n'abandonne que ses chétives cases de paille*'[9] (Bertrand-Bocande1849 b, 58).

Mobility, however, was not limited to the Fulbe, as both griotic epics and village traditions describe patterns of movement among the Manding, albeit of different types. For instance, a version of the Kelefa epic narrated by Ousmane Camara from Payoungou (Int. 16), gives an excellent example of Kopytoff's 'African frontier' model described in Ch. 2. According to this version, Kelefa was the son of Tiramakan; he wished to create his own village, and asked his father for permission. Tiramakan agreed, and gave him some land at the end of his territory. Over time, Kelefa's village grew, and he returned to his father to ask for more lands for cultivation. Again, Tiramakan agreed, and said that in order to define the new extent of their territories, they would both leave their respective villages at sunrise, walk towards each other, and their meeting point would be the new border. Unfortunately for Kelefa, his father cheated and left the night before, so when Kelefa prepared to leave his village in the morning, he encountered his father at the gate. Although almost certainly not a historical occurrence, this story does highlight some key principles and patterns of landscape organisation, especially the

9 'stay in the lands which are lent to them for only as long as they encounter an agreeable hospitality; they always ready to depart. If they fear abuses, they desert in an instant and part to establish themselves elsewhere with their herds, taking all their belongings; they only abandon their meagre straw huts'

dynamics of societal reproduction at the fringes of territories, the prestige involved in founding villages, as well as the hierarchical relations between the original villages and the smaller ones that 'sprouted' from them.

As for short-distance mobility, or shifts, an elder in Payoungou, by the name of Payoungou Seydi (Int. 16), gave a very insightful account of what I have called 'shifting sedentism'. When asked about the different areas that composed the ancient site of the village, he explained how:

> 'if they settled in a place where there were many deaths, they would move, with a jump of a few meters. And they would never go back. The *tata* which I know of, never moved. It was the people who moved towards and around the *tata*. Thus the *tata* I know in Payoungou stayed in the same place. It was the village which moved around it. This movement was constant. The elders told me so'.

Although as tends to be the case with oral traditions, it is difficult to accurately establish which period this description refers to, we know from historical sources (see Ch. 6 for details) that the *tata* mentioned was abandoned before the 19th C, which means the patterns described pre-date Kaabu's decline.

Finally, a key factor in the movement and displacement of populations across Kaabu's history was slavery. The nature of slave raiding and trade radically changed over the centuries, and especially with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade; as did the social status of slaves (see Ch. 3); but slaves remained a key part of Kaabu's economy over its history. An early instance of this importance, as well as a perfect example of Guyer's 'wealth-in-people' notion, is provided again by the Tiramakan epic, this time narrated by Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12). According to this version, on his way to the Gambia, Tiramakan stopped in Kayes (Mali) over the rainy season. As a way of thanking the king for his hospitality, Tiramakan put one of his warriors at his disposal. The warrior joined one of the king's expeditions and returned with five captives, which he gave to the king. As a courtesy, the king gave two of them to Tiramakan. After being fed, one of them told Tiramakan he wanted to fight; and thus was sent in the next expedition, where he in turn captured four people. This process repeated itself several time and after each expedition, Tiramakan had more people under his control. As a result, the king's sons got worried and told their father Tiramakan had to be sent away, as his power would soon outnumber their own.

Once again, it is doubtful whether this particular episode ever happened, but it demonstrates the political importance of slavery (and captives) for both

military and economic power. As Kekouta Camara (Int. 12) explained 'if they made war, all the children captured were taken home. They were their source of wealth'. Unfortunately, at present we have no way of quantifying the extent of the population movements caused by slavery in its early forms. It is also unlikely that we will be able to quantify it archaeologically, as contrary to other areas of the Mali empire (e.g. Ségou, cf. MacDonald & Camara 2012) oral traditions in the Upper Casamance do not mention the existence of particular settlement forms associated with slaves. In later periods, however, when slaves became also goods that could be sold in European trading entrepots, we start having numbers that testify to the scale of the phenomenon. For instance, and as already indicated in Ch.3, in the early 18th C the Kaabu *mansaba* sold 600 slaves annually to the Portuguese alone (Labat 1728, 234). Movements of captives therefore appear to have been very substantial from the very onset of Kaabu, and thus need to be considered when discussing population movements, but tracing them on the ground might be difficult with the available information and without fully understanding the material signatures they produced.

4.6 Pre-Kaabu (pre 13thC)

Unfortunately, the oral traditions we collected did not describe this period in anything other than extremely vague terms. The information available from existing sources is, as discussed in Ch. 3, also very scarce, thus rendering an analysis of its political and ritual landscape organisation impossible for the time being.

4.7 Landscapes of the Upper Casamance: chronological evolution

Having analysed the evolution of the articulation of landscapes of power in the Upper Casamance from the present to the beginnings of Kaabu, it is time now to reverse the analysis and look at processes and events in the order they happened, at the nature of the transitions between periods and at how the different polities in the region built on, rejected, or continued the practices and notions of their predecessors. Several themes emerge from this review: the extraordinary resilience of patterns at the local level, the adaptability of regional structures, a gradual trend towards greater centralisation, the political importance of sacred landscapes, and the centrality of mobility for settlement patterns throughout the last millennium.

Although as would be expected, the review suffered from a gradual

decrease in information as it went further back in time, the one element that seemed to remain constant, from the earliest Portuguese texts up to the colonial period, was the role of the *jarga* or village head: notionally the eldest member of one of the founding families (although in practice other considerations and caveats apply), in charge of guaranteeing the peaceful development of village life and of allocating lands to those who request them, all within the parameters of the gerontocracy of the council of village elders. Throughout the centuries, villages were composed of segments, of families and lineages of different statuses that came and went, as their circumstances changed.

In each of the periods, however, the regional structures within which villages, *jargas,* and council elders had to operate, and the restrictions and possibilities such structures entailed, gradually varied. Although we do not have any reliable information about the organisation of early Kaabu, the Tiramakan epic and associated traditions, combined with what we know about later periods, offer some possible indications. We know a group of Manding warriors arrived in the Senegambia in the 13th C, and that by the time of the first Portuguese sources two centuries later, they had already established a vast, if only superficially centralised, confederation of states. Traditions describe Tiramakan's peripatetic movements across the region, conquering lands and leaving trusted warriors in charge of them, but never settling.

It is difficult to establish how much of these traditions is historical; but one aspect seems clear: the resulting political system was not a direct copy of that of the Manden. While it retained some of the traits of the latter (presence of *nyamakala* hierarchical structure around a warrior class of which the greatest expression was a *mansa*), it also acquired some markedly different –presumably local–ones, such as the presence of queens, *nyanthioya,* or the importance of mobility (Lopes 1988; Niane 1989). Consequently, 'Tiramakan's conquest', appears to have been a process involving substantial negotiation with local communities, but the specific nature of such negotiations remains unknown.

Given the extremely little information we have about this initial period, it is difficult to assess how much of a break with previous structures the institution of *nyanthioya* represented. What is clear, however, is that it established a more defined and formalised structure that provided greater stability by establishing a mechanism of rotational power between the different elite factions, while limiting access to the higher offices to a reduced group of people, sanctioned and naturalised by a myth

of origin anchored in the landscape. While this system of rotational power gradually collapsed, and was not adopted by the Fulaadu and colonial authorities, other aspects did make the transition, with different degrees of adaptation. One particularly resilient notion is that of *banco/leydi,* which as previously described was used up until colonial times to designate a political space: a territory under the (more or less loose) control of a ruler and identified with a given seat of power. The nature of the seat of power, however, varied. In Kaabu, towns like Kansala, Payoungou, or Kankelefa, fully deserve to be referred to as the 'capitals' of their respective *banco,* as they are consistently described as permanent pillars of power, not attached to a particular ruler or reign. The situation with the 'royal towns' of more peripheral *banco* is less clear, as the association of territory and town is not as strong. During Fulaadu and colonialism, on the other hand, the power of towns appears to have been directly connected to the rulers that resided in them (some towns were even named after their ruler, like Medina Abdoul, residence of the *chef de canton* Abdoul Diallo), and the power centre of a territory changed with each ruler. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that both these states only lasted for around 60 years, and it is therefore possible that there simply was not enough time for power centres to consolidate and endure.

Another particularly striking example of survival and adaptation of concepts throughout political changes is that of offices and titles. The four main examples discussed in this chapter (*mansa/lamdo, kelengana/kelejawara, barula, sofa*) are used to describe positions of power in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, as well as during colonial times, although their meaning in some cases changed. *Mansa,* the most frequently cited of the four terms –at least by European sources (e.g. Gomes 1959[1481],35; Ca da Mosto 1895[1507],132; Bertrand Bocandé 1849b, 266)–, is consistently used to describe supra-local rulers, from early Kaabu kings to the current president. The remaining three, although very common in oral traditions, do not appear in written sources until the 19th C (Mage 1868, 82; Roncière 1894 cited in Benoit 1988; 514, Grandao 1947, 450); but their Manding provenance, their geographical spread across the former Mali Empire, and their prominent role in epic traditions, would suggest a pre-16th C origin. The roles they referred to, however, appear to have substantially changed from Kaabu to Fulaadu to colonial times, demonstrating both the importance of continuity and tradition, but also its flexibility and adaptability.

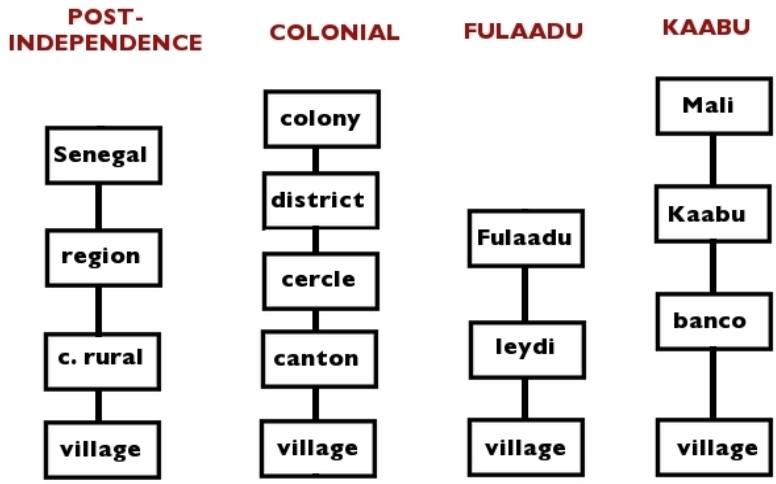


Fig. 4.13 Administrative divisions of the Upper Casamance over history.

As for sacred landscapes, all periods have been marked by a combination of Islamic and pre-Islamic (i.e. animist, traditional) notions, with a gradual shift in importance from the latter to the former. Both sets of beliefs and practices have had great political implications: *dyalan* appointed kings and queens, advised upon state matters, and added to the power and prestige of given towns; it is no coincidence that the greatest *dyalan* of Kaabu also happened to be right next to its key political power centres. Likewise, Islam was used initially as a source of prestige, both political and social, and later as a key identitary legitimising tool in the construction of a force capable of overthrowing Kaabu.

Nevertheless, although both Islam and *dyalan* were deeply intertwined with political structures, *dyalan* practices had a degree of anchoring in the landscape, which Islam has not yet achieved. This rootedness gave *dyalan* practices a great degree of resilience, as shown by how even after their abandonment, their associated notions still shape the local understandings of the landscape. This is nowhere clearer than in the association of trees and historical characters: in the same way that all of Kaabu's *dyalan* had an inseparable connection with their founder (Girard 1992, 101), all recent historical characters have their associated trees, from Alfa Molo to *chefs de canton,* trees which also embody the power of the people they represent. Likewise, the idea that there are some areas which are powerful and propitious for inhabitation, while others are inhabited by bad spirits and dangerous, has also survived through the ages, adapting itself through the Muslim concept of *djinns*.

Despite the many similarities and continuities in the articulation of landscapes of power over time, there is an aspect of landscape organisation that has substantially changed, and that is centralisation. Although Kaabu was since the beginning a hierarchical state, with a clear pyramid of subordination, first to Mali, later to Kansala; it was also highly decentralised, as the multiple states or provinces that formed the federation retained a large degree of autonomy. A crucial part of this autonomy had to do with the decentralisation of the means of destruction, since the *mansaba* required the collaboration of the regional *mansa* and their armies for any substantial expedition. Likewise, Alfa and Musa Molo also depended on the collaboration of their subordinates, as their personal armies were quite limited, but they both by-passed these by calling upon on a more powerful military force (the Futa Djallon in the case of Alfa, the French in the case of Musa). This added a degree of centralisation, but also of subordination to external powers, which might account for the short length and instability of their reigns. Finally, the colonial administration, while apparently maintaining the precolonial regional structure through the canton system; it also radically changed its power dynamics by centralising military power.

As for mobility, the previous review revealed how constant village foundations and abandonments have been a feature of the Upper Casamance's population dynamics throughout history. This recurrent use of movement as a response to any social, political, or environmental problems has often been linked to the influence of formerly nomadic Fulbe populations; but this explanation obviates the fact that these patterns largely predate the Fulbe rise to power, and are as common among the Manding as they are to the Fulbe. Secondly, documentary evidence consistently shows that short-distance mobility patterns, i.e. 'shifts' have characterised the Upper Casamance's landscapes since at least Late Kaabu times, and the rootedness of these patterns of settlement mobility in oral traditions suggests they may go back much further in time.

CHAPTER 5.- SURVEY

In the previous chapter, I explored the evolution of the principles of landscape organisation that have characterised the articulation of power networks in the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, and how the successive polities in the area adopted, changed and made use of the notions and practices of their predecessors. In the following pages I address the results of the surface survey and how they fit within these wider landscapes. I start with a description of the methods employed, of its advantages and limitations, and of the reasons behind the different methodological choices made. I then proceed to describe the different types of sites encountered in terms of their archaeology, the oral traditions associated with them, and their presence in written historical accounts. Finally, I discuss the different patterns that emerge from this analysis, both in terms of specific site categories and in relation to wider processes of landscape articulation.

5.1 Methods and overview of results

As was discussed in Ch.1, prior to this project the only archaeological information available for the Upper Casamance was Girard's (1992) unsystematic listing of *dyalan* and *guide* structures. The main aim of this survey was therefore to obtain a representative sample of the diversity and nature of the archaeological landscapes of the region. During five weeks in January and February 2013, we conducted a village-based survey covering an area of approximately 70x50 km, from 13º 09' to 12º 41' N in latitude, and from 14º 36' to 14º 02' W on longitude (see Fig 5.1). We visited 25 villages to interview the local elders and record archaeological sites in the surrounding area. Given the combination of poor landscape visibility and lack of prior information, village-led survey (i.e. based on local knowledge) was deemed the most time-effective method of exploring the region. Visiting sites accompanied by elders also had the advantage of not having to contact land owners individually and the interviews gave us the opportunity to explain to village elders who we were, what were we trying to achieve, and why; which in an area in which foreigners tend to be from NGOs, is fundamental to avoid problematic misunderstandings.

The protocols and methods used for the initial arrival at villages and the recording of oral traditions have already been described in Ch. 4. As the interviews

were always conducted in Fulbe (even though in two cases the answers were given in Manding), and Fulbe does not have a direct equivalent to 'archaeological site', one of our first priorities was to establish the local terminology used to refer to the different types of archaeological sites present, which consisted of nine main terms:

- *Tumbu* (pl. *tumbuji*): abandoned village.
- *Tata* (pl. *tataji*): fortification, fortress.
- *Guide* (pl. *guide*): rock shelter, subterranean galleries.
- *Dyalan* (pl. *dyalanji*): sacred place, generally a tree or cave.
- *Fi kadie de:* stone circle.
- *Teppere (*pl. *Teppe):* Foot prints (polishing marks on lateritic outcrops).
- *Huddeji mboy ji*: Ancient things.
- *Saare cosaan (*pl. *thiaé cosaan)*: historical village.
- *Duula mboy do (*pl. *duula ji mboy ji)*: ancient places.

As efficient and culturally-sensitive as village-based survey is, it presents a problem: the difficulty of assessing how representative the recorded sample is. To correct this deficiency, a week-long systematic control survey had been planned at the end of the first five weeks of village-led work. Unfortunately, this initial plan had to be abandoned in light of two unexpected factors: the very reduced site visibility (no visible stratification and lack of surface pottery in non-cultivated areas) and the dense vegetation cover.

Having chosen the peak of the dry season to conduct the survey, it was expected that wild vegetation would have dried and fields would have been harvested. Although this was an entirely accurate prediction, what I had not expected was that, although dry, vegetation would still be present, in the form of thorny bushes, perennial trees, and some deciduous trees whose fallen leaves formed a 10cm-thick coat on the floor. The conditions ranged from total lack of accessibility without cutting implements, to sparse bush with a dense coat of dry material on the floor hiding any potential surface finds. Additionally, sites were not usually identifiable by topographic undulations given the shallow stratigraphy.

Furthermore, as a region characterised by a depositional rather than deflationary soil regime, very limited amounts of surface pottery or any other

material were visible. In some cases, even when the local elders had identified a place as a site, it would take us a substantial amount of time and effort to find any surface material or feature confirming the archaeological nature of the location. The only areas presenting optimal conditions for survey were harvested fields which, for obvious reasons, were already well known to local villagers, and therefore not appropriate for a control survey. Consequently, given the resources and time available, it was deemed more productive to employ the time initially allocated to the control survey to continue the village-led exploration. Although this leaves us with the problem of accurately assessing the representativeness of the sample, the nature of the results meant that, although not as accurate as the reference provided by a control survey, a general evaluation was still possible, as is discussed later.

In terms of site recording, once at a site, I would walk its perimeter, mapping it with a hand-held GPS, on the basis of surface pottery and local knowledge. In sites where none of these three elements was present or reliable, the site would be left unmapped and marked only as a waypoint. As it has already been discussed, not all areas with subsurface archaeology have surface pottery, but it is necessary to consider that the opposite might also be the case: post-depositional processes (e.g. manuring or water transport) might have spread surface materials to areas without subsurface archaeology. While this possibility cannot be entirely discarded, excavations (cf. Ch 6 & 7) indicate it does not appear to have been common, as all areas with surface pottery did indeed have archaeology below them. Surface pottery thus remains a reliable indicator of minimum site size.

While I determined the extent of the site, the rest of the team would collect surface pottery, and mark the location of any other materials, such as slag, glass, bone, or small finds (especially beads and spindle whorls), to be recorded by GPS later. In most cases, pottery was so scarce that we collected everything we found, but in cases where amounts were more substantial, we prioritised rims and larger body sherds, to a maximum of one full 30x40cm bag. If slag, glass, or any other materials were present, we collected a representative sample of the different classes found, except for bone, which was noted but left in place. Any features, such as wells, furnaces, collapsed walls, anthropogenic stone accumulations, or hearth stones, were marked as waypoints, photographed, and recorded in the site form.

In total, sixty sites were identified and recorded (see Fig. 5.1). After each

interview, we visited a minimum of 0 and maximum of 11 sites (often split over different days), with an average of 2-3 sites per village. These sites were between 0m and 10.1km from each village, which means if we take an average of 5km as the standard measure of landscape knowledge/willingness to move by local elders, our survey covered over 50 % of the study area (see Fig 5.2). The survey revealed four main types of sites: abandoned villages or *tumbuji,* fortresses or *tataji* (sing. *Tata),* stone marks, and *guide* or subterranean structures. A complete list of the sites and their main traits can be found in Appendix B.

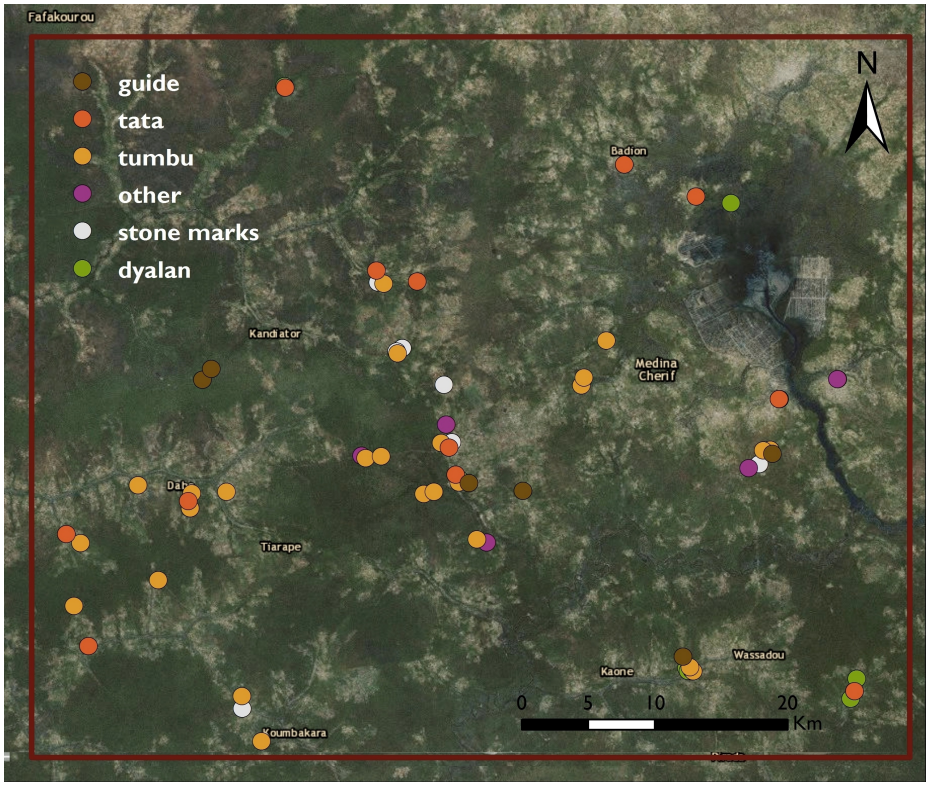


Fig 5.1: Sites identified during survey. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

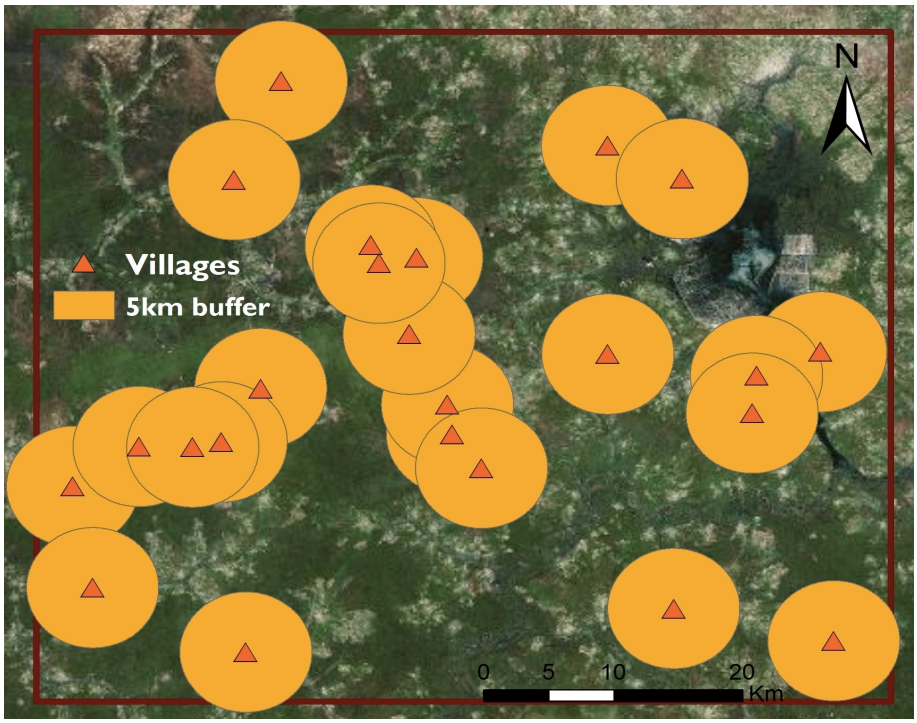


Fig. 5.2: Villages visited with 5km buffer of average knowledge. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

5.2 Settlement sites/Tumbuji

We recorded a total of 34 abandoned settlement sites, locally known as *tumbuji*. Out of these, 21 had surface pottery but only 18 had enough for analysis (i.e. over 20 sherds); 15 had slag, and 9 had remains of glass objects. All of them were located next to a water source. According to local oral traditions, 9% had been occupied during the Bainouk period, 41% in Kaabu times, another 41% after the Fulbe revolt, 59% during the colonial period, and 35% after independence . Although some presented substantial elevation differences from one part of the site to another (up to seven meters) these were in almost all cases related to natural slopes. Only the site of Uraro (UC-27) displayed a clear mound shape. I now describe the information available for each of these sites in detail, both in terms of their archaeology and their associated oral traditions, as well as their presence in historical texts.

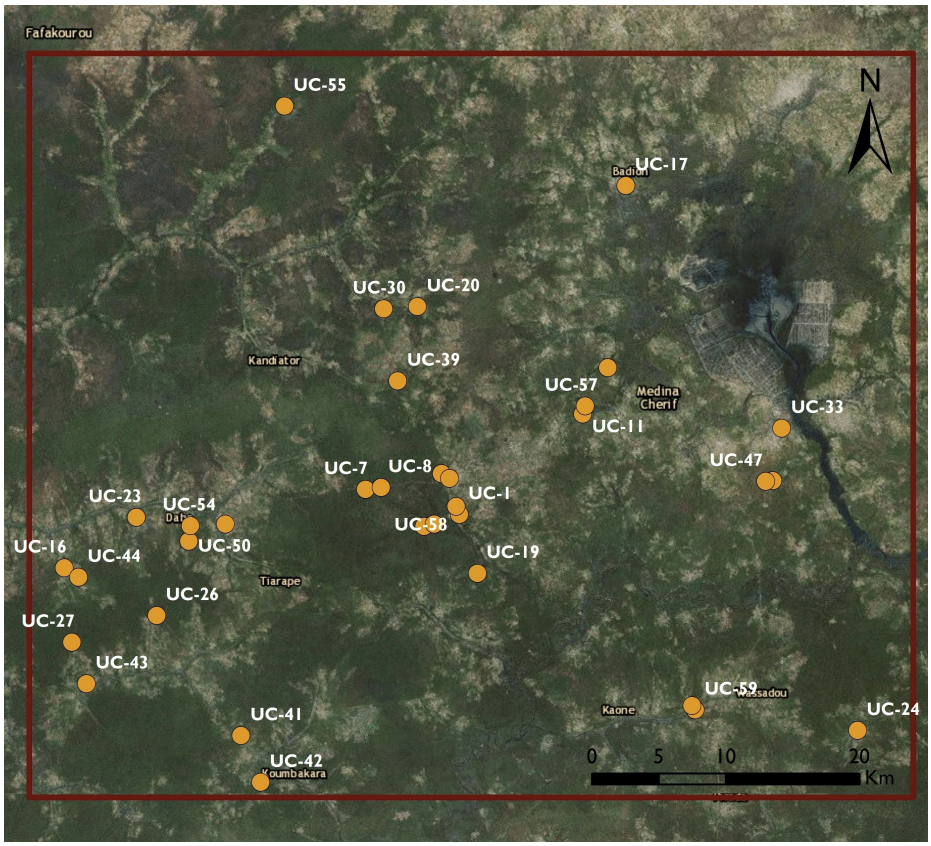


Fig. 5.3 Abandoned settlements or tumbuji identified during the survey Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Mampatim Sinthian (UC-1, UC-58) *N12.86623, W14.33353*

There are currently two villages named Mampatim: Mampatim Maoundé (Great Mampatim), which is on the paved road, and the largest of the two; and Mampatim Sinthian (small Mampatim). This latter is a very small agricultural hamlet inhabited by a mixture of Fulbe and Balant populations, 3km away from Mampatim Maoundé. The current village at Mampatim Sinthian was founded during Fulaadu times by a group of Fulbe migrants, who were later joined by Balant families and Manding blacksmiths (the Cissé), although the latter left again some 60 years ago to settle in Saré Hogo (a village 13 km away) (Int. 1). Nevertheless, although their oral traditions are therefore shallow (covering only the last 200 years), several lines of evidence indicate that Mampatim Sinthian is in fact where the original Mampatim (that of the Tiramakan epic and the *nyanthio* myth), was located. First of all, both elders at Mampatim Sinthian and Mampatim Maoundé, agree that Sinthian is the oldest of the two (Int. 1 & 2). Additionally, Guedi Nyanthio Be, which multiple traditions identify as the origin of the *nyanthio*, is in the vicinity (800m away from the village). Finally, several accounts report how the ruins of a Manding *tata* were

visible in M. Sinthian up until the 1970s (Sidibe 1980, 18-19; Niane 1989, 22; Moro Keba Cisse, Int. 28).

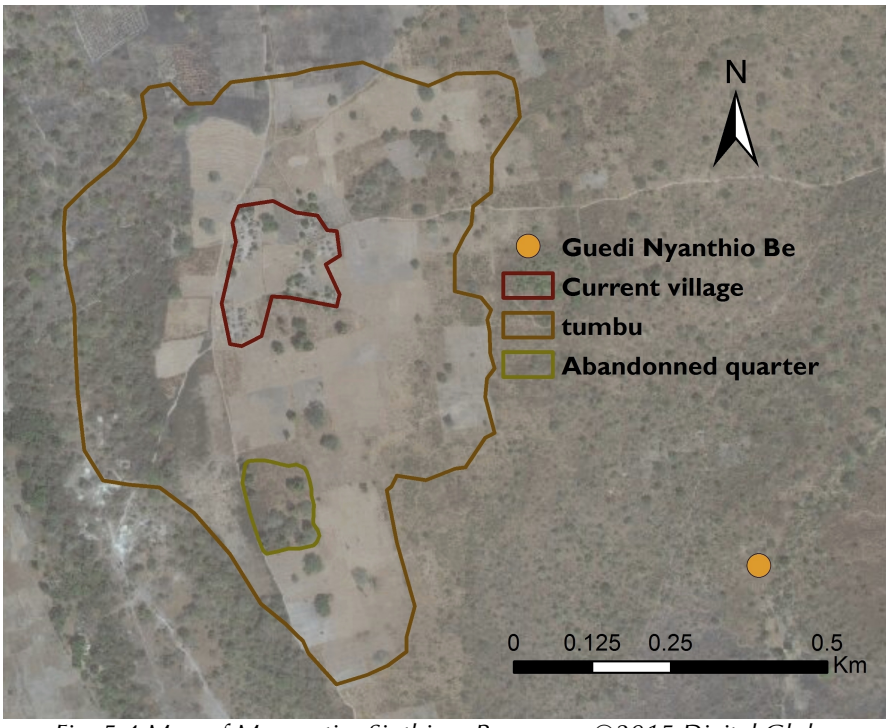


Fig. 5.4 Map of Mampatim Sinthian. Basemap: ©2015 Digital Globe

In addition to the traditions associated to Guedi Nyanthio Be, discussed later, Mampatim features in two different but not mutually exclusive traditions: the first one identifies Mampatim as the residence of the last Bainouk king (Niane 1989, 22), the second, as Tiramakan's first town in the Senegambia (Sidibe 1980, 18-19) and/or Kaabu's first capital (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 376). According to these, Mampatim was the original seat of Kaabu's rulers, only displaced to Kansala after the establishment of *nyanthioya* (Galloway 1980, 31). It was in the territory of Patim, which extended from the swamps of Chewel Lawo in the west to those of Kandia in the east (Lansana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980, 43), and it is also where Sumang Koli Tarawali, Tiramakan's son, died (Arfang Lasana Kante in Galloway 1980, 44).

During the survey at Mampatim Sinthian, we identified two distinct archaeological areas: the neighbourhood abandoned by the Cissé around the 1950s (UC-1, 1.3ha), which had been left uncultivated and therefore did not have any surface pottery; and the much larger and older Manding *tumbu* (UC-58, 63ha),

which had surface pottery in the cultivated spaces, particularly in the areas to the east and north of the current village (see Fig. 5.4). Unfortunately, none of the recovered ceramics had any chronologically diagnostic features that could be used to assign it to a particular period. The site also yielded a complete ceramic smoking pipe stem (SF#15), a glass bead (SF#16), and a fragment of a 19th C gin bottle.

Bunya Burdo (UC-7) *N12.88291, W14.39647*

Small abandoned village (0.5ha), its Fulbe inhabitants left during Baba Mulai's rule as *chef de canton* (1941-1960) for Diourbel, Sare Ndiaylia, and Goppe, after a series of deaths (int. 29). According to the current elders, its populations lived from agriculture, animal herding, and hunting, and the village was contemporary with Baba Mulai Balde's residence (UC-6), only 330m away. The limits of the site are still marked by tree stumps and stakes, and several hearth stones are still present. 'Bunya' is the name of a nearby river, a Pulaar word of Manding origin meaning 'giving something to a stranger' (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). The river Bunya connects the sites of Bunya Burdo, Bunya Hade Bula, and Wubunyan.

Bunya Hade Bula (UC-8) *N12.88421, W14.38603*

Founded by Hade Bula, father of Samba Kendo (lieutenant of Musa Molo), who came from Patim Tibo. Abandoned when Hade Bula followed Musa Molo to exile in the Gambia, (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). Several hearth stones are still present, and the limits of the site are marked by tree stumps and stakes, enclosing an area of approximately 3.4ha. No surface pottery or other finds were present.

Wubunyan (UC-11) *N12.93282, W14.25036*

Founded during the times of Alfa Molo by Yeli Kande, who later left to found Mampatim Maounde (Sisao Diao, Int. 26). Refounded by Sano Sy Mballo, and eventually abandoned during Baba Mulai's rule as chef de canton, due to conflict between this latter and Sano Sy. Its population was a combination of noble and slave Fulbe, who never converted to Islam (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). The site is not cultivated and therefore did not have any surface pottery, but the village's perimeter (enclosing an area of 14.3 ha) was remembered by the jarga of Mampatim Maoundé.

Tumbu Yero Kumbel (UC-12) *N12.85837, W14.35723*

Fulbe settlement, abandoned during the time of the elders' great-grandparents, when the inhabitants moved to Sare Djalia and Pidiro (Mory Balde, fieldnotes; Sisao Diao, Int. 26). No surface pottery or other finds were encountered.

UC-13 *N12.85984, W14.35032*

Abandoned site whose name or history has been forgotten by the local populations. Found several hearth stones, but no other finds or surface pottery.

Tumbu Abba (UC-14) *N12.89343, W14.34542*

Inhabited for 7 years, during which it reached 6.3ha in size, until its inhabitants moved to Mampatim Maoundé during Baba Mulai's (Bory Balde, fieldnotes) or Musa Molo's times (Mory Balde, fieldnotes), depending on the informant.

Patim Tibo (UC-16) *N12.83058, W14.59940*

Still inhabited, sometimes also spelt Kibo, Thibo or Chibo, Patim Tibo is currently a predominantly Fulbe village, which has in the past also had Bainouk and Manding inhabitants (Buraima Balde, Int. 4). The current village sits to the east of the centre of the archaeological site, which is stratified (4m difference from the centre to the edge of the site but part of it is natural relief) and 54 ha in size. In some traditions, Tibo is mentioned as one of the settlements founded by Tiramakan (Sidibe 1980, 21; Niane 1989, 24); and in 1849, it was described by Bertrand Bocande (1849b, 63) as a town governed by the Bannoran family in the Sankorla province. Tibo also appears cited in 1885 as one of the provinces of Firdu in the treaty Musa Molo signed with the French (Anon. 1885); and is also mentioned in griotic narratives as one of the four royal towns of the territory of Patim during Later Kaabu (Sana Kuyate in Galloway 1980, 43).

Despite the antiquity of the site, however, its oral traditions were rather shallow, and dealt largely with the colonial period. The reason behind this shallowness appears to be a break in the chain of transmission, as the elder who knew the history of the village died in 2005, and the new *jarga* had not learnt it from him. Some younger members of the community mentioned having heard stories about the Bainouk and the Manding who founded the village from the deceased elder, but could not recall them in detail. Consequently, our interview

focused largely on the colonial period, when Tibo was a *chef lieu de canton,* under the rule of Sama Kendo (Buraima Balde, Int. 4).

The site is, as said, rather large, and has a *tata* whose foundations are still visible. The *tata* was used by the local ruler Sama Kendo during the Fulaadu, but it pre-dated his rule (Buraima Balde, fieldnotes). Sama Kendo himself is buried to the east of the *tata,* and the burial used to be marked by a large tree and some lateritic stones, but only the stones remain now. In the eastern end of the site is a large uncultivated area which houses the village's cemetery, and to the southeast is a fromager tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) which the elders claim used to be the main village square (*banta*), suggesting the site might have been bigger than surface pottery would indicate (as the main square would not be at the very edge of the town). Being thoroughly cultivated, the site had good amounts of surface pottery, as well as remains of glass and slag. Unfortunately, none of these were chronologically diagnostic.

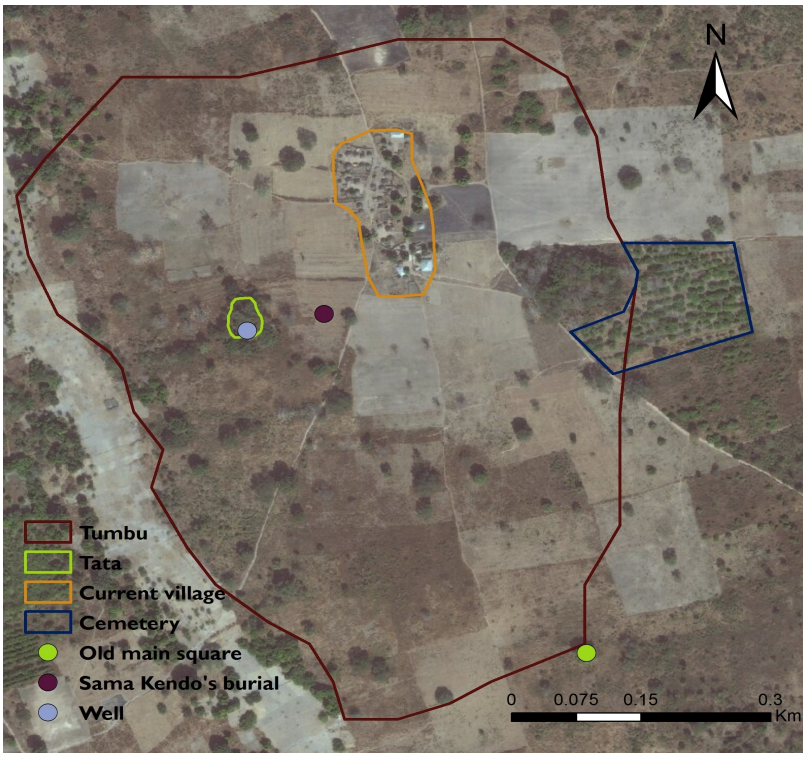


Fig.5.5 Map of Patim Tiibo. Basemap: ©2015 Digital Globe.

Kandia (UC-17) *N13.08474, W14.22141*

Kandia is currently a village of 1202 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014a), mostly Fulbe. According to some griotic accounts, Kandia was founded by Tiramakan, who named it after *kanjoo* (okra), as they got an excellent okra harvest during their first year there (Sidibe 1980, 18; Niane 1989, 22). Its elders, however, disagree. They have two versions of Kandia's foundation: in the first one, two brothers from Mali sat down to rest under the baobabs. After a while the elder brother got ready to leave but the younger refused, saying that was the location of a village. The village was thus named *Kan wo dia* ('somebody stubborn' in Malinke). In the second version, a hunter from Kabendu, guided by his dog, found a well in the middle of the bush. On his return he reported the find to the king of Kabendu and this latter founded Kandia, which became one of the royal towns of the Patim *banco* (Ansou Balde, Int. 5; Galloway 1980, 43).

The importance of wells is in fact a common theme of all the traditions about Kandia, whether griotic or local, and wells also feature prominently in the story of Kandia's second foundation. Having been abandoned by the Manding, Kandia was resettled by the Fulbe during the Fulaadu period after the well attracted the attention of a passing-by hunter (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). The first *jarga* of this new period was Diatta Koumanthio, Musa Molo's *kelengana*. His appointment appears not to have been entirely peaceful, as his role was reportedly to 'oversee' the local populations, and he is remembered for having a tree that he used to tie people to to beat and/or kill them (Dianguilla Mballo, Int. 5). When Musa appointed Diatta Koumanthio, he also gave him a Manding blacksmith, which is the ancestor of the current Manding families living in the village. In a 1891 French census of the 'kingdom of Fouladougou', Kandia was cited as a royal town under the rulership of Sambou Poulo (Becker *et al* 1983, 214). This ruler, however, is not remembered in local elder traditions, which after Diatta Koumantjio jump straight to the colonial period and the appointment of Kalako Balde as jarga during Baba Mulai's time. The list of *jarga* is then uninterrupted up until the current *jarga* Ansou Balde, and contains 10 names (Chirifou Mballo, Int. 5).

When we visited the village in January 2013, two wells were shown to us: one to the east of the archaeological site, where the Manding royal family notionally threw themselves and their treasures when the village was abandoned, and another at the centre of the current village. This latter is still in use, and it is

most likely the one the foundation stories refer to. It is excavated into the living rock, 90cm in diameter, and approximately 10m in depth, widening towards the bottom, where it connects with an underground stream. According to the elders, this stream leads in one direction to Kounkané[1] and in the other to Bassé in the Gambia. Until recently, people would not dare approach the well at dusk, let alone draw water from it, for that is when the djinns inside were most active (Ansou Balde, Int. 5). This well was also described by Girard (1992, 27), who was very impressed by the technical skill and knowledge required to build it, as the opening coincides exactly with the width of the subterranean stream whose presence is not detectable on the surface.

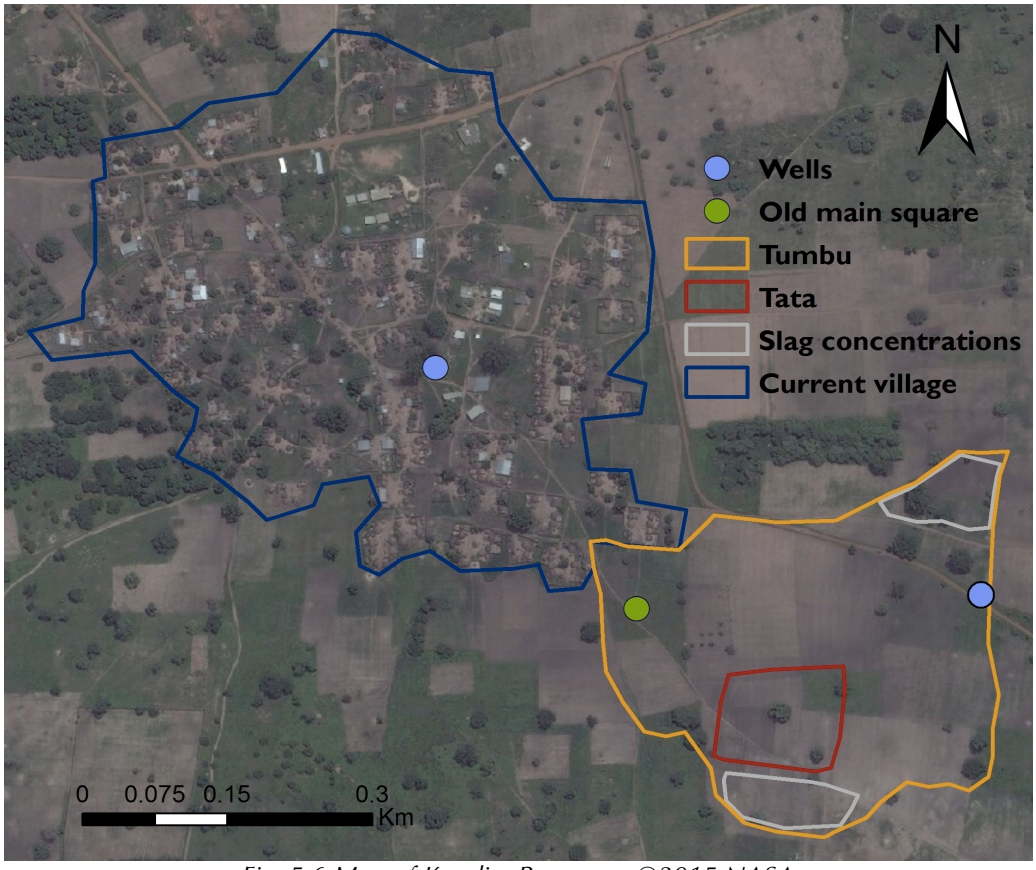


Fig. 5.6 Map of Kandia. Basemap: ©2015 NASA

In addition to the wells, Kandia also has two significant trees: one where the *chefs de canton* were crowned, located to the east of the current village, and a fromager (*banta*) to the south of the archaeological site, which the elders claim marked the ancient public square. According to Girard (1992, 302) there used to be three *dyalan* in Kandia, each composed by a tree and a stone, but none of these was mentioned during our visit. The archaeological site is at least 11.3 ha, probably

1 The morphology of the well is indeed extremely similar to that of the well found at Losalu in Kounkane (UC-9).

over twice that size, as the old *banta* (which tend to be located at the centre of settlements) was at one end of the cultivated (and hence archaeologically identifiable) area, would suggest the site was larger than surface evidence allowed to record (see Fig.5.6). In the southern area of the site was the Manding *tata*, which will be discussed later. The site had more pottery than most, and some of it presented incised decorations, which are characteristic of the Late Kaabu/Fulaadu period (cf. Ch.8). Some slag was found in the northeast of the site and immediately south of the *tata*; and the elders also reported frequently finding glass beads, but none were encountered during the survey.

Pachukiel (UC-19) *N12.82699, W14.32119*

Small site (2ha), abandoned during Fulaadu times. Small quantities of very fragmented pottery with no chronologically relevant features were encountered on the surface. The local populations avoid the site as it is believed to be inhabited by an *ufan,* a type of *djinn* that likes scaring people at night (Bakary Balde, fieldnotes).

Thiara (UC-23) *N12.86421, W14.55082*

The current village was founded during Alfa Molo's time by Pate Marun Baldé, and has had four *jarga* since. During both Fulaadu and colonial times, Thiara was in the territory of Patim, governed from Patim Tibo (Int. 15). It is still considered a 'hot' (i.e. dangerous) village, where any civil servants that visit will inevitably lose their post (APS 2012). The *tumbu* is located to the north of the Fulbe part of the village and occupies 4.7ha. There are two contradictory versions regarding its relation to the current village: some elders argue it was the previous location of the village's Manding neighbourhood, others said the *tumbu* was already there when Thiara was founded (Int. 15). Pottery on the surface would seem to support the latter, as it included Orange Gritty Ware, characteristic of pre-Kaabu times.

Payoungou (UC-24,UC-34, UC-35, UC-36) *N12.72236, W14.06419*

Excavated site, discussed in Ch. 6

Koulekounda (UC-25) *N12.85987, W14.49093*

Epic traditions link the foundation of Koulekounda with Tiramakan (Niane 1989, 24; Sidibe 1980), but according to the current populations, the village was

founded by Koule Bayo, a Manding from Bijini (Guinea Bissau), during Late Kaabu. Koulekounda was then abandoned when the Fulbe took power, and refounded during the times of Musa Molo by Keita Seyda, a Fulbe from the Massina. The new village was established north of the older one, but the latter was also eventually reoccupied by Manding blacksmiths from Pakao, who abandoned it again in the 1970s due to the salinisation of some of their lands (Int. 18).

The surface evidence at the archaeological site (6.4ha) confirms this last story: the house mounds are still visible, the two wells are of modern construction, and several fragments of crucibles were found on the surface. As for the earlier occupation described by oral traditions, it is supported by the presence of cord-decorated sherds, rarely used in 20th ceramic traditions, but their specific antiquity cannot be determined by morphology alone.

Sansankoro (UC-26) *N12.79899, W14.53709*

Very small site (0.6ha), founded by Fulbe fleeing the Guinea war, abandoned soon after following the death of a large number of cows. This was interpreted by the local populations as the result of their refusal to sacrifice cows to a local *djinn,* and the decision was made to leave and split; some of the population settled in Sare Aleth and Nyenguène (Coumbacara), while others went back to Guinea Bissau (Abba Balde, fieldnotes). Only one pottery sherd was found during the survey and it was not chronologically diagnostic, but the visibility of house foundations and the presence of hearth stones and a functioning well (still used by herders), confirm the recent nature of the abandonment.

Uraro (UC-27) *N12.78120, W14.59411*

In the vicinity of the current village of Daar Salam Ibrahima, Uraro (Manding for 'evening'), is a small tell-shaped site (5.1ha), whose inhabitants were chased off by Alfa Molo (local hunter, fieldnotes). Uraro is mentioned in the writings of Bertrand-Bocande (1849b, 63), as a village of the Manjan family, subordinate to Berekolon in the province of Sankorla. Despite being in the vicinity of a village, the *tumbu* is not cultivated, as it is believed to be haunted by dangerous *djinns,* and only hunters dare to venture into it. Partly due to the dense vegetation and the large trees that cover it, partly to its location, the site is much warmer and humid than the surrounding area, and is home to a colony of monkeys. Thanks to this latter, and their digging for tubers, we managed to recover some

surface pottery, whose temper composition indicated an Early Kaabu date (see Ch.8), which would fit with the traditions mentioned.

Tumbu Diankankounda Manding (UC-30) *N13.00297, W14.38429*

Diankankounda Manding (aka Galloyel) is part of a cluster of four villages all named Diankankounda (the others are D. Tabadjé, D. Mawdo Gundo, and D. Oguel) of which it claims to be the oldest. According to the current *jarga,* Faly Touré, Diankankounda Manding was founded by Kansou Touré, who came from Sare Pathe Bouya during the time of Musa Molo (Int. 21). It is likely, however, that this refers only to the village in its latest incarnation, as traditions elsewhere recount how the village was conquered by Alfa Molo, who killed its queen Mama Sane (Girard 1964, 305). Nowadays, it is a village of potters and blacksmiths renowned throughout the region for its pots and iron tools.

The tumbu is located between Diankankounda Manding and Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo, about 300 m north of the former, and it is said to be the original location of the village, which would have moved to its present position during the time of the current elders' grandparents. The perimeter of the site, traced by the elders (as vegetation made it impossible to see any surface finds), covered an area of 0.7ha.

Kabendou (UC-33) *N12.92168, W14.11310*

Kabendou is remembered by both epic traditions and village histories as one of the four key towns of Kaabu, associated with some of its most important characters. Yet it is strangely absent from both European accounts and maps until the 20th C. Regarding its foundation, some griotic accounts attribute it to Tiramakan (Sidibe 1980, 19), while local elders claim the location of the village was revealed to its founder, Fariman Kante, by a hippo (Kékouta Camara, Int. 15). Sana Kouyaté, one of the most famous Casamance griots, argues that the first *mansa* of Kabendou was Bunka Mané, from Payoungou; but that Kabendou's existence largely predates his appointment, as it was only when a *tata* was built that the appointment of a *mansa* became necessary. With Bunka Mane, Kabendou became the capital of Bisabor, a large *nyanthio* territory (Galloway 1980, 9). Bunka Mane was succeded by Tamba Mane, who was in turn replaced by Faramba Tamba (Galloway 1980, 9).

Faramba Tamba was contemporary of Dianke Wali, and is the last and best remembered mansa of Kabendou. He was defeated by Alfa Molo, and depending

on the source, either died in the battle (Girard 1992, 302) or escaped into exile (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). Faramba Tamba's defeat was followed by a substantial depopulation of Kabendou, to which Musa Molo put an end after being told by a marabout that if Kabendou was abandoned, his own capture would inevitably ensue. Musa thus appointed his brother, Yero Egue (aka Yeronding) as *mansa* of Kabendou, and his *kelejawara,* Djide Naffa as *jarga*. Djide Naffa was succeeded by his son, Oumar Coly Balde, who eventually left to found Sare Oumar (near Kounkane). Following his departure, the jargahood returned to the Manding. During colonial times, the *chef de canton* Mulai Siranding tried to interfere in the *jarga* succesion, but eventually agreed to candidate presented by the elders (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). It was in this period that the first mosque was built (Kabendou elders, field notes).

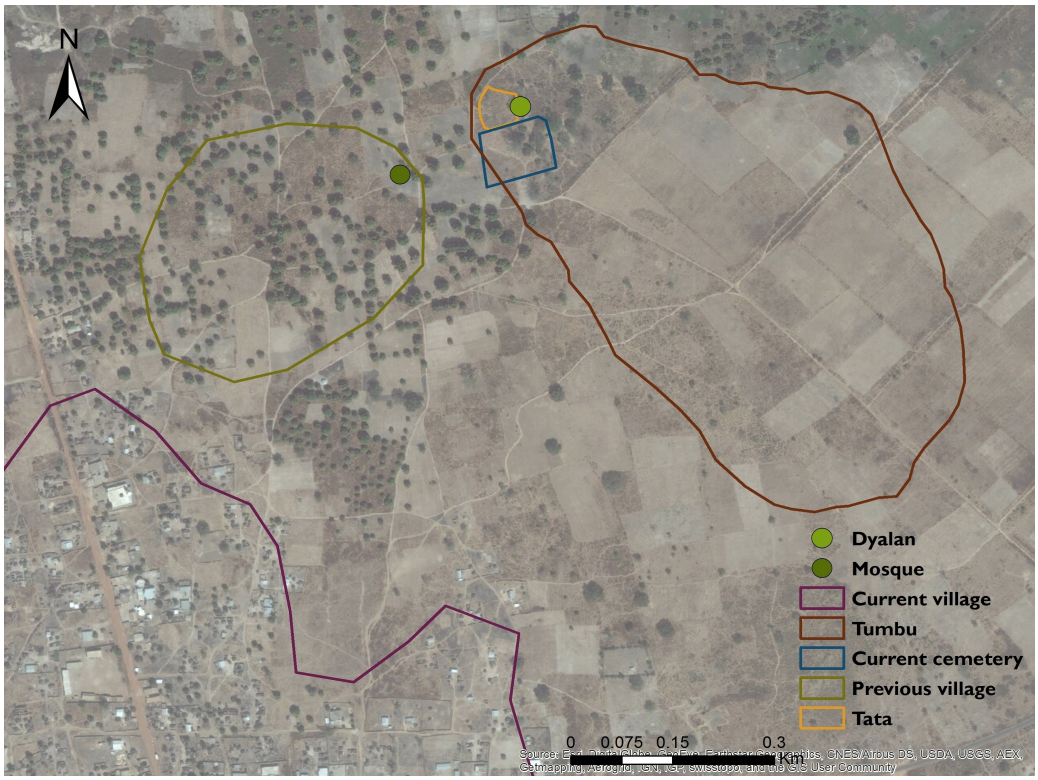


Fig.5.7 Map of Kabendou. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Currently, Kabendou is a village of 2482 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014b), located on both sides of the main paved road connecting Kolda and Velingara. The archaeological site is to the north-east of the current village, and there is evidence of a gradual shift from one location to the other, both in terms of local histories and through the archaeology (visible house mounds in the area closer to the current village). According to the elders, two main processes account for this movement:

the desire to be closer to the paved road, and the creation of a new neighbourhood by the early converts to Islam during canton times (elders of Kabendou, fieldnotes). The site is around 30ha, possibly more, and had reasonable amounts of surface pottery, some of which presented diagnostic features of both the Early Kaabu and Late Kaabu/Fulaadu periods. In the easternmost part of the site were the remains of a *tata,* the highest one encountered, as will be discussed later. Right next to the *tata* was the current cemetery and the town's *dyalan,* the Tamba Dibi, which is associated to Dianke Wali (Girard 1992, 302).

Tumbu Arfa (UC-39) *N12.95488, W14.37486*

Small abandoned village, 1km to the northwest of Sare Pate Bouya, initially founded by Arfa Mballo. Its inhabitants left during the colonial period after a series of deaths, and founded a new Sare Arfa next to Sare Pate Bouya, on an existing *tumbu* belonging to Touré Yaya. The remains of the village were still visible during the childhood of the Bouli Mane, the current *jarga* from Sare Pate Bouya (fieldnotes) but currently the site is covered in thick vegetation and no surface pottery could be found.

Tumbu Saré Sambaru (UC-41) *N12.71931, W14.48033*

Small *tumbu* in the vicinity of Coumbacara, of approximately 2.6 ha. Abandoned during the times of Saliou Dia (2nd canton ruler of Niampayo), when its population moved to Coumbacara. The *jarga* at the time of the move was still the founder (Fode Mballo, Int. 22; fieldnotes). Only six pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two pieces of slag, none of them chronologically diagnostic.

Tumbu Djidima (UC-42) *N12.68814, W14.46699*

Located 2km to the south of Coumbacara, Djidima (meaning 'somebody who gives birth/life in Pulaar) was a small village (under 2ha) abandoned before the colonial period (elders of Coumbacara, fieldnotes). The site had moderate amounts of surface pottery, including some with Early Kaabu features, as well as fragments of 19th C case gin bottles.

Tumbu Mawdo Gundo (UC-44) *N12.82452, W14.58976*

Small *tumbu* (under 2ha), 800 southeast of Patim Thibo. Initially founded by Mawdo Gundo, refounded by Demba Diao from Linkering some 50 years ago, and abandoned after 12 years following the death of the latter. However, before they left for Fafakour, however, its inhabitants buried Demba Diao in the middle of the site, where his tomb is still visible. Although it is not clear what period Mawdo Gundo lived in, it was reported that his descendants live today in Sare Samba Lobe (elders of Thibo, fieldnotes). Only six undiagnostic pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two small fragments of 19th C glass.

Sambel Hari (UC-47) *N12.88816, W14.12720*

Small *tumbu* (1.1ha), 200m to the northeast of the current village of Kolda Molo. Already abandoned when Kolda Molo was founded at the end of the colonial period. At that time, the ruins of the village were still visible, which is no longer the case. Its founders were Mamadou Koumbel, Meta Koly, and Hala Barou, all Fulbe (Koliyel Balde, Int. 25). No pottery or other finds were encountered during survey, but an elder who used to cultivate a field in the tumbu reported finding glass beads frequently (fieldnotes).

Sambel Sambaya (UC-48) *N12.88859, W14.12261*

At the opposite side of the current village of Kolda Molo, also 200m away from it, is the even smaller site of Sambel Sambaya (0.5ha). Like Sambel Hari, it was already abandoned by the foundation of Kolda Molo, and all that it is remembered about it is that it was inhabited by a Fulbe by the name of Sambel Sambaya. In the northwest corner of the site there is a well, currently about 4m deep, with no traces of wooden structures. Two undiagnostic pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two small pieces of slag and a fragment of modern glass.

Sinthian Soule (UC-50) *N12.84838, W14.51551*

Founded by Soule Balde during colonial times (some elders say during the rule of Abdoul Diallo, 1912-1942; others during that of Baba Mulai, 1942-1960); inhabited by Fulbe who left after a series of deaths soon after Senegal's independence. The well, dug in 1945, is still visible, and the location of the cemetery still remembered (elders of Koumambouré, Int. 26, field notes). Only two

small undiagnostic sherds were encountered over the site's 4.7 ha.

Koumambouré (UC-54) *N12.85880, W14.51439*

Currently a village of 447 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014c), mostly Fulbe, Koumambouré in its current form was founded by during the Fulaadu by a Fulbe group from the Maasina (Mali), on the site of a much older Kaabu town. The same group also founded Mballo Kounda and refounded Patim Thibo. Koumambouré's first *jarga* after its refoundation was Sara Ada Balde, who was followed by Bassi Alde, Talla Balde, Sirifo Balde, Boubou Balde, and eventually Demba Balde, the current village head. The village was later joined by some Sarakollé families in the 1960s and a group of Manding from Guinea Bissau.The arrival of the Islamic scholar Thierno Sarifou from the Futa Djallon towards the end of the colonial period led to the village's conversion to Islam, and to the construction of the first mosque around the time of Senegal's independence (Demba Balde, Int. 26).

Prior to thus refoundation, however, Koumambouré had been a substantial Kaabu settlement, featured in griotic traditions. The current Fulbe populations acknowledge the Manding origin of the site, whose founders they claim were named Koumba and Bouré, but do not have any further information on the period (Demba Balde, Int. 16). As for wider griotic narratives, like with most substantial Kaabu settlements, the foundation of Koumambouré is linked to Tiramakan who is reported to have lived there for four years after its creation (Sidibe 1980, 21; Niane 1989, 24). The griot Sana Kouyaté (cited in Galloway 1980, 44), describes Koumambouré as the third most important town in the territory of Patim, after Kandia and Mampatim. Koumambouré's *tata* is frequently cited by both elder and griotic traditions, generally in association with Koring Mane, Dianke Wali's *kelengana* (Demba Balde, Int. 26; Sidibe 1980, 21)

The current village is located in the middle of the *tumbu,* which is at least 25ha, probably larger (not all the area was cultivated). Pottery was relatively abundant, as was slag. The surface collection included some Late Kaabu/Fulaadu diagnostic sherds, as well as fragments of 19th C case gin bottles. To the southwest of the site, just before the rice fields, was a concentration of slag and the remains of a series of tuyere insert points for a forge (see Fig. 5.8). About 300m to the south of the end of the site, the elders took us to an area where they claim the *tata* was located, but no remains were visible. There was some surface pottery, but due to vegetation and bad visibility only a few undiagnostic sherds were found.

Fig.5.8 Tuyere insert points for a forge in Koumambouré

Korop (UC-55) *N13.13810, W14.45184*

Excavated site, described in Ch. 7.

Miija (UC-56) *N12.96384, W14.23364*

Small *tumbu,* one km north of the current village of Saré Koba. We visited the site accompanied by the PCR from Medina Chérif, who did not know any traditions about it, other than that its inhabitants were Bambara. Although the site is currently cultivated (cotton), very little pottery was found on the surface. The few sherds collected, however, did include some with characteristic early Kaabu features. Three pieces of slag and a fragment of a 19th C gin bottle were also recovered.

Santanto (UC-57) *N12.93832, W14.24883*

Very small *tumbu* (under 1ha), founded by a Fulbe by the name of Dulo Tendi, and abandoned during the rule of Baba Mulai as *chef de canton* (PCR Medina Cherif, fieldnotes) . The site had small amounts of surface pottery, including sherds with Early Kaabu features.

Samassandang/Samasansan (UC-59) *N12.73623, W14.17464*

Two kilometres southwest of Wassadou, Samasansan is today a small village of 450 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014d), and the clearest example of contemporary shifting sedentism we encountered. According to the local elders, the village was named by a group of Kaabu soldiers who around the time of Kansala's foundation predicted how that spot would be 'tomorrow's enclosure' (*sama sansan* in Manding). The actual foundation of the village, however, would not occur til Kaabu's fall, when Yiri Kuntuba Sané, fleeing Kansala, decided to settle there, and was joined by other refugees. Yiri Kuntuba Sané's son was Bidji Sane, who had three children: Duwa Sane, Malang Sané, and Numudion Sané. It was in their time that the village was abandoned after a series of deaths, and its population moved to found Touba (now Medina Poussang), 3km away. Some years later, a Fulbe by the name of Molo Saba decided to refound Samasansan, and was told by the marabouts that the village could never succeed without Manding presence. He thus went to Medina Poussang to ask its inhabitants to return. This move was originally opposed by both the Manding families and the *chef de canton,* who thought the return of the Manding would only bring problems, but eventually Molo Saba managed to convince all parties (Lamine Sane, Yoba Camara & Abdoulaye Balde, Int. 30).

As for the village's location over time, three large moves are remembered: the initial Manding village was located to the south of the valley, but only lasted a year and a half, as the area was too humid. The village then moved to the other side of the valley, until its abandonment. Molo Saba chose the area southwest of the previous location to settle, and the village has subsequently moved north (see Fig.5.9). This sequence is particularly useful, as we have dates for most of the moves: the initial foundation took place after the battle of Kansala, i.e. in the 1860s; Molo Saba's refoundation happened towards the end of Musa Molo's rule, i.e. in the 1900s; and the last shift is remembered to have taken place in the 1960s (Int. 30, fieldnotes).

In terms of evidence on the ground for those shifts, the vast majority of the areas were not cultivated, and hence had no surface pottery, but all except for the first location were marked by a large tree that acted as village square and *dyalan*. These were Tenemba (a fromager in the current village), Salimatou (a *neré* in the 3rd village location, dead), and Dado (a fromager in the 2nd Manding village, that sprouted from the seed of the original one).

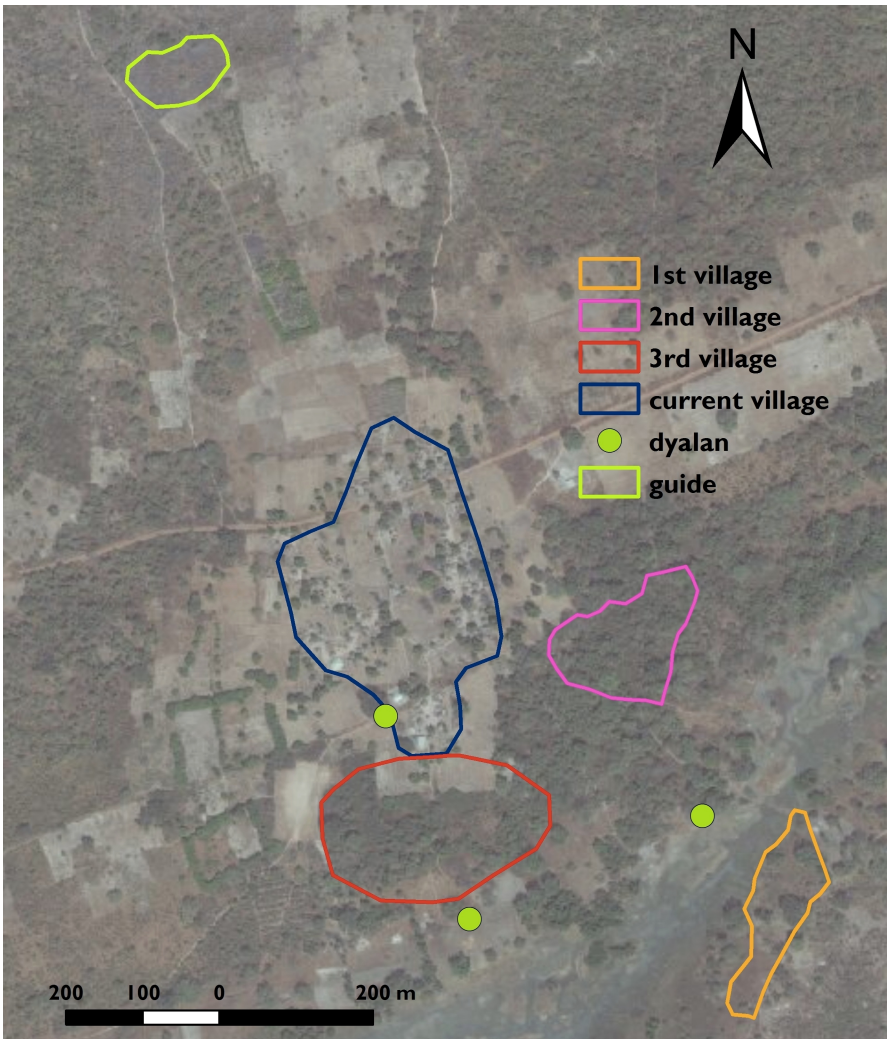


Fig. 5.9 Samassandang

5.4 Fortresses/*Tataji*

As was described in Chapter 3, the word *'Tata'* (pl. *tataji)* is a Western Malinke term that designates fortified areas of a settlement, generally rectangular, and associated with a given ruler. According to the elders, some were made of wattle-and-daub, some of *banco*, and some of mudbrick and large wooden stakes. Some were real defensive fortresses and others just modest enclosures, but they all were centres of military and political power. Although most appear to have been built during Kaabu, many went on being used up until the colonial era. Unfortunately, out of the twelve tataji identified by locals during the survey, only four were partly or completely traceable on the ground. In two of the remaining cases (Kandia and Bantanguel Yawayou), the perimeter traced by the elders could later be confirmed by satellite imagery. In all other instances, either recent constructions had obliterated the remains, or the elders knew there had been a *tata*

in the locality, but could not indicate its specific location. I now review all the *tataji* encountered (except for those at Payoungou and Korop, which are discussed in Ch. 6 and 7, respectively).

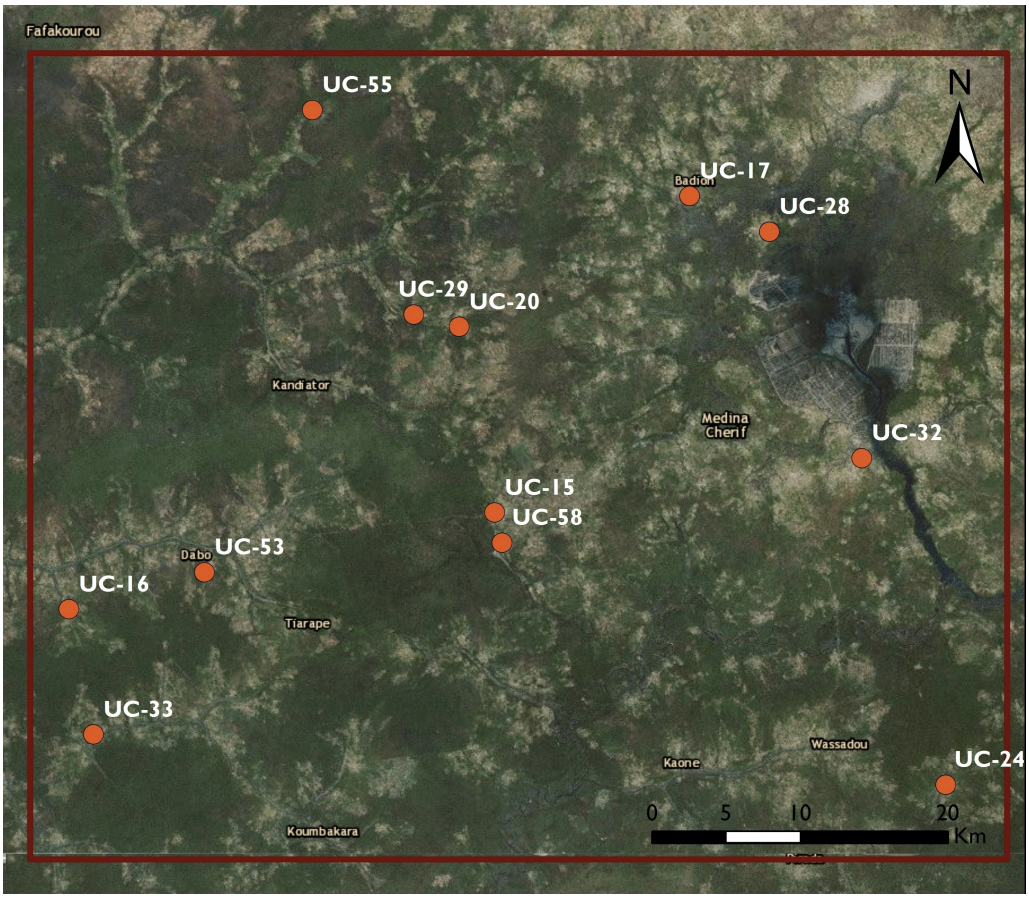


Fig. 5.10 Tata distribution. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Mampatim (UC-15) *N12.89014, W14.34005*

This is a rectangular area of 80x200m, around the current primary school, which the elders at Mampatim Maoundé claim was where the Bainouk/Manding tata was located. (Int. 29). According to these same traditions, the tata would have then been reused by one of Musa Molo's *kelengana*. The area then became a market for many years, before being turned into a school. During the construction of the latter, builders reported finding large amounts of pottery and glass (Delo Balde, fieldnotes). Currently, part of the space is built on, and the rest is covered in contemporary rubbish.

There were many mentions of the Mampatim tata in different traditions that placed it near Mampatim Sinthian, rather than Maoundé (e.g. Int. 28, Sidibe 1980, 26). According to Buli Mane, *jarga* of Sare Pate Boiuya, the Bainouk had built a *tata*

in Mampatim Sinthian and, after chasing them, Tiramakan built another one there (Int. 14). Unfortunately, during the M. Sinthian's survey, no traces of a *tata* were found, which is not surprising considering the heavy tilling the area has been subject to, and the supposed antiquity of the *tata* there. Consequently, at present it is difficult to establish whether the 'Mampatim *tata*' refers to one or two structures (one at M. Maoundé and the other at M. Sinthian), and there is no backing from archaeology or written sources for either option.

Patim Tibo (UC-16) *N12.83058, W14.59940*

The *tata* at Patim Tibo is located to the northeast of the centre of the site, in an area purposefully left uncultivated. Its external walls can still be traced on the ground, as an elongated ridge (30-50cm high) enclosing an area of 50x40m. According to the elders, during their childhood the walls were much higher, and also included stakes spaced at regular intervals. Although the origins of the *tata* are said to be Manding, oral traditions (cf. Int. 4) linked to it have to do with Sama Kendo and Musa Molo; and in fact the burial of the former is adjacent to the *tata* itself.

Kandia (UC-17) *N13.08474, W14.22141*

Although the *tata* was not visible on the ground, the elders showed us what they claimed was its contour (which they remembered from when it was visible during their childhood) and which satellite imagery proved to be accurate. As can be seen in Fig. 5.11, the *tata* is a structure of approximately 80x80m, marked by a white line, with a darker line on the outside, probably a ditch, which makes it one of the largest structures encountered. Local elders claim the *tata* was only used during Kaabu and that with the Fulbe refoundation of the town, the new ruler built himself a *sanye* made of wooden stakes coated with clay (Int. 5). The Manding *tata* was then abandoned.

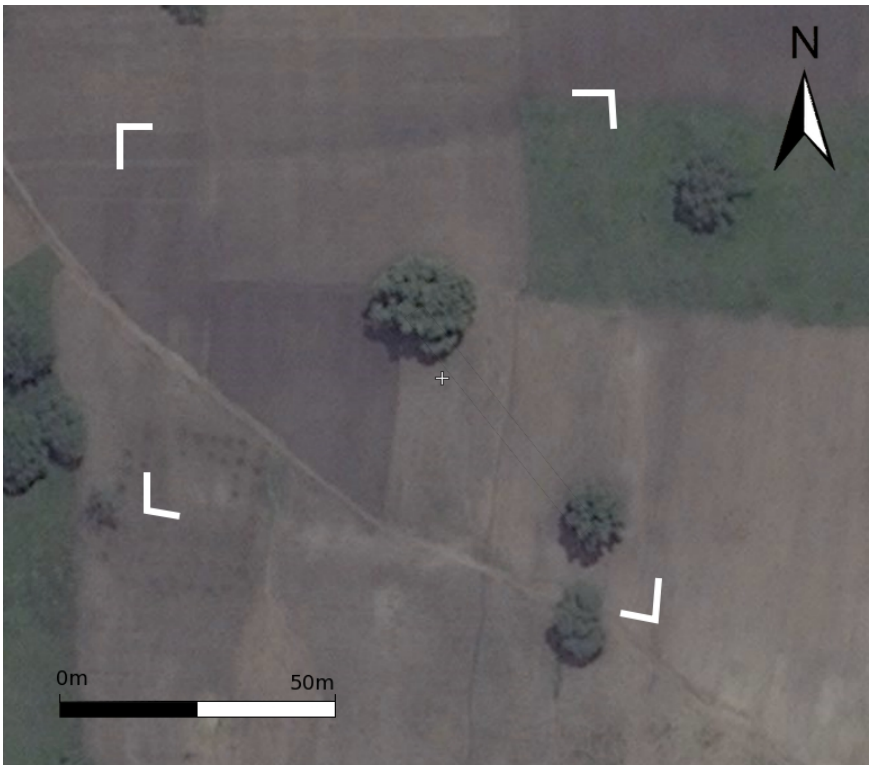


Fig. 5.11 Tata of Kandia. Basemap: ©2015 NASA.

Mamakunda (UC-20) *N13.00433, W14.36158*

About 200m northeast of the current village of Saré Douel Sambalo are the remains of a clearly visible *tata*, which the elders from Sare Pate Bouya argue was Mamacounda, the capital of the *banco* by the same name. It is a structure of 60x70m, between 0 and 50cm high (height varies considerably depending on the area), and up to 3m wide (some of this might be wall melt, rather than actual foundations). In parts, the wall has been mined for clay to make bricks, leaving substantial gaps. In the middle of the *tata* is a well dug in 1989 (long after the *tata* had been abandoned), and during its construction the villagers reported having encountered substantial amounts of bone (elders of Sare Doubel Sambalo, fieldnotes)

According to griotic epics, Mamakunda (literally 'grandfather's place') was a nyanthio state controlled by the Sané. Initially called Jankang Banko (after its founder, Jankang Sane), it later took the name of its capital, Mamakunda. After Jankang's death, power passed on to his son Mansa Bakary, who in turn was succeded by Mansa Kusang, and eventually by this latter's daughter, Sira Saane, who was contemporaneous with Dianke Wali. Another ruler of Mamakunda was Bibamang Sane, who was a blacskmith (Sana Kuyaté cited in Galloway 1980, 25-6).

Muntumba (UC-28) *N13.06281, W14.17272*

Muntumba is a small village of 311 inhabitants in the CR of Kandia (PEPAM 2014e). The current inhabitants are mostly Fulbe, with some Manding families that arrived during colonial times, but the Manding root of the village's name would suggest an older origin. Right in the middle of the village, the current elders claim, is a *tata* from Musa Molo's times. This *tata*, which occupies an area of approximately 40x50m, used to be visible during their childhood, and was made of stakes plastered with clay (Samba Sané, Int. 19). One of these stakes is still visible, in what according to the elders is the northeast corner of the *tata*. Although at some points the perimeter traced by the elders presents some elevation in relation to the surrounding area, the amount of current huts, palisades, and middens makes it difficult to establish whether such elevation is connected to the *tata*'s foundations or to more recent activities.

Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo (UC-29) *N13.01196, W14.38933*

As in Muntumba, the supposed tata at Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo is right in the middle of the current village. The north and east sides, however, are on a field, recently harvested at the time of our visit, on which the foundations of a large wall were still visible, marked by a very slight elevation, and a clear change in texture. The other two sites of the 50x60m structure were under houses. The elders report, however, that during their childhood the *tata*'s walls were still standing and the gate was on the eastern side. At the centre of the *tata* was a tree called Thiélen-Thiélen Ngayi, under which Musa Molo used to sit when he visited. Inside the *tata* lived Mame Fatouma Sane, Musa Molo's representative. After her death, the space was inherited by the *jarga* and it continued to be the *jarga*'s residence until very recently (Cherif Diallo, Int. 20).

As discussed earlier, Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo is one amongst four neighbouring villages all named Diankankounda, the earliest of which (D. Manding or Galouyel) dates back to Kaabu times (Girard 1964, 305). Thus, although D. Mawdo Gundo itself was founded during the late Fulaadu period, the tata would predate its foundation. In the words of Ibrahima Balde (Int. 20), 'Musa Molo found the *tata* already here. It was built by the Manding king'.

Kabendou (UC-32) *N12.92362, W14.11643*

As previously discussed, Kabendou was one of the four great towns of Kaabu and the capital of the *banco* of Bisabor. The *tata* is located between the current village and the tumbu, to the northeast of the latter and right next to the local *dyalan,* enclosing an area of approximately 60x50m. Although its remains are covered in tall grass (cultivation is forbidden on the inside), it is the tallest of all the *tataji* we recorded, with external wall stumps of up to 1m (see Fig. 5.12). The width is difficult to calculate due to the dense and height of the grass. Although predating his rule, the *tata* is most strongly associated with Faramba Tamba, king of Kabedou during Dianke Wali's time who was defeated by Alfa Molo, and the *tata*'s last occupant.

Fig. 5.12 Kabendou elder standing on top of the remains of the tata.

Bantanguel Yawa Yoli (UC-43) *N12.75365, W14.58436*

The site of Bantanguel Yawa Yoli is located beside the current village of Temanto Tobo, founded by Fulbe migrants from Guinea Bissau after the war of independence (1963-1974). The village was named 'Temanto' ('in the middle' in

Manding) after a village in Guinea Bissau by the same name they had previously stayed in. At their arrival, the settlers encountered an abandoned Manding village, on top of which they built theirs, and a *tata* immediately to the south (Int. 23). At the time, the *tata*'s walls were still partially standing, and silver and golden bracelets, as well as coins, were often found in their vicinity (elders of Temanto, fieldnotes). Although the walls have been destroyed since by cultivation, the elders still remember their outline which can also seen in satellite imagery. Unlike all the other cases so far, the remains are not rectangular but slightly oval in shape (see Fig. 5.13). The current populations do not know anything about the *tata*, other than it was used by a Manding ruler, Koly Kondjira during Kaabu, and abandoned after his death (Int. 23).

About 70m to the south of the *tata*, is a well which predates the foundation of Temanto, now abandoned. To the southwest, bordering the rice fields, is a forested area with some impressively large fromagers which the current populations believe to be the Manding cemetery (elders of Temanto, fieldnotes). No pottery was found near these two, but the area surrounding the *tata* had some sherds with characteristic Late Kaabu/Fulaadu traits, as well as three undated ceramic weights (SF #5-7).

Fig 5.13 Outline of the Bantanguel Yawayou tata. Source: ©2015 Google.

Koumambouré (UC-53) *N12.85337, W14.51683*

Although both epic traditions (e.g. Niane 1989, 39) and elder accounts (e.g. Int.26) agree there was a *tata* at Koumambouré, and that its last occupant was Koring Mané, Dianke Wali's *kelengana*, the current populations are not certain about its location, and nothing is visible on the ground or though satellite imagery. One elder initially claimed to know its location, and took us to a field about 500m south of the current village, which had some pottery and slag, but later retracted and said he was not sure. The Gambian historian Bakary Sidibe claimed that Koumambouré's *tata* was located 'along the road where the Balantes live, near the rice field' (Sidibe 1980, 21). Assuming 'the road' refers to the main paved road, this would leave two possible locations: to the south of the road, where the current 'sacred forest' is located, and the fields on the northern side. We could not enter the former due to their sacred nature, and nothing was found on the latter.

5.5 Subterranean structures/*Guide*

Guide or *guedi* is a term that both local Fulbe and Manding use to refer to any subterranean structure, including rock shelters, caves, and excavated galleries. Their existence was first documented by Girard (1992), who identified 37 definite and 16 probable *guide* all across the Upper Casamance (see Fig.5.14), including 10 (3 definite, 7 probable) within the research area of this project. He documented how some had pottery and glass remains on the inside, and rudimentarily excavated that of Kandiama (14km NW of Medina Gounass). Girard's work at Kandiama uncovered a 3000m^2 complex of subterranean galleries and rooms, connecting with a natural cave (see Figs. 5.15 & 5.16), and yielded four radiocarbon dates of unclear origin, ranging from AD 406-766 to AD 1670-1796 (Girard 1992, 9-17). He interpreted these structures as subterranean inhabitations and refuges for times of insecurity.

During our survey, we encountered nine *guide,* including three that had already been listed by Girard (1992, 38-40). Unfortunately, all had been filled by sediment, and the entrances to the excavated galleries had collapsed, possibly due to the 1983 earthquake (Earthquake Track 2015). All we could confirm was a) the presence of a number of apparently deep caves, and b) the existence of human-made rectangular pits, presumably leading to subterranean galleries. Although they are designated by the same name, the local attitude towards caves/shelters on the

one hand, and excavated galleries on the other, are very different. The former are thought to be inhabited by *djinns,* and thus dangerous and powerful places. The latter, however, do not seem to have such associations, and in fact villagers said before their collapse hunters used to enter them to hunt porcupines, and reported having seen galleries high enough for a person to stand up comfortably, as was the case at Kandiama (see Fig.5.15).

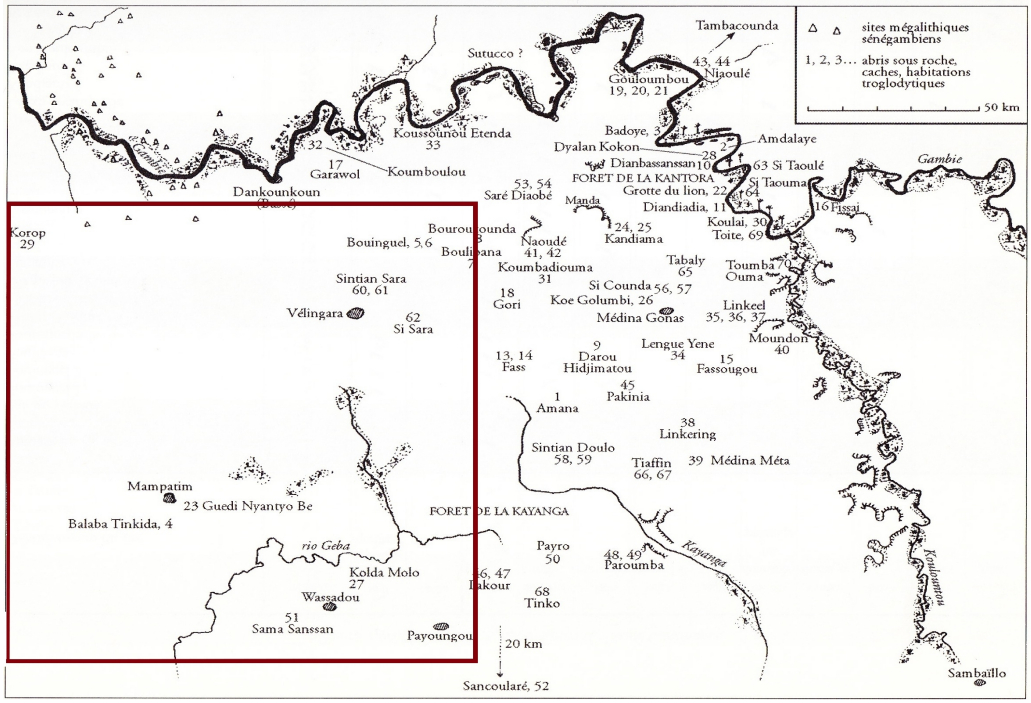


Fig. 5.14 Girard's map of archaeological sites of the Upper Casamance, with my research area marked in red. Adapted from Girard 1992.

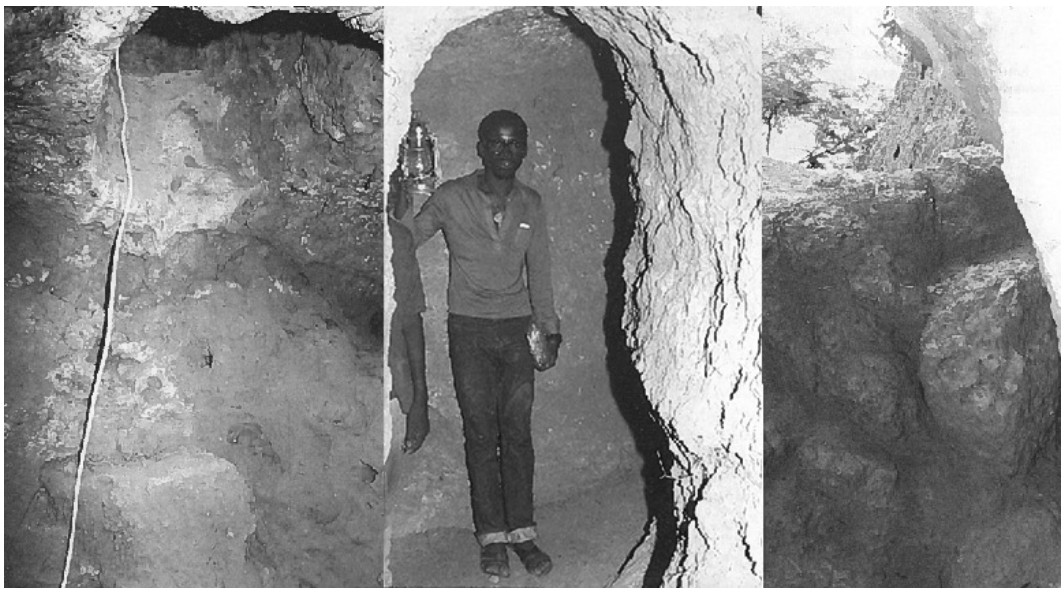


Fig.5.15 Subterranean galleries at Kandiama. Adapted from Girard 1992

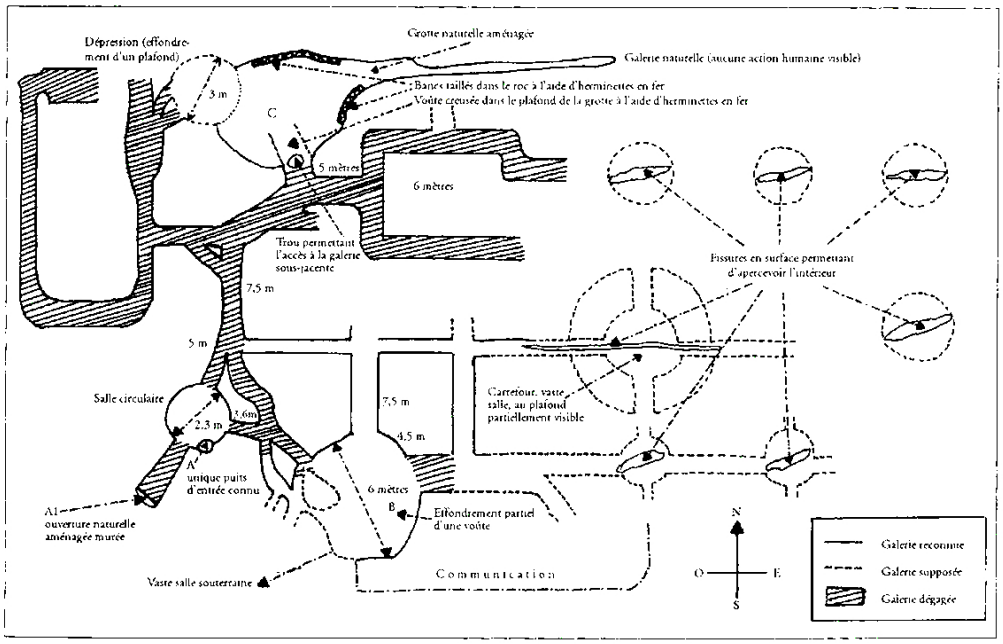


Fig. 5.16 Map of the subterranean galleries of Kandiama. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

Guedi Nyanthio Be (UC-2) *N12.86578, W14.32669*

By far the most famous and well-known of all the Guide of the Upper Casamance, Guedi Nyanthio Be (GNB) is located between the current village of Mampatim Sinthian and Saré Amadi. As discussed in Ch.3, GNB is a fundamental part of the *nyanthio* origin myth, and was also frequently mentioned in the interviews with local elders. The elders at Muntumba, for instance, said that after

the fall of Kansala, a Manding woman found herself at GNB and heard voices saying that if she arrived at Mampatim Sinthian she would be enslaved, so she stayed overnight in the shelter. As a result, she fell in love with the djinn that lived in it and has stayed there since. Some time ago, a griot by the name of Lala Kebandome, played the kora outside the entrance so beautifully that she got out of the cave briefly to listen, but she has not been seen again since (Samba Sane, Int. 19).

Nowadays, GNB is a small opening on a lateritic outcrop, next to a seasonal stream. The upper surface of the outcrop is covered in polishing marks (see section below), and in the lower part is the entrance to the cave (see Fig. 5.18), currently blocked by a mixture of fallen lateritic rocks and sediment, leaving a small opening leading to what appears to be a long tunnel, just about large enough for a person to crawl in. When Girard visited in the 1980s, however, the cave was still accessible, and he reported having found pottery remains and glass carboys on the inside (Girard 1992, 20). Additionally, the elders of Mampatim Sinthian say Girard spent considerable amounts of time inside GNB, and on his way out told them there was a stream within on which animals drank (elders of M. Sinthian, fieldnotes). Girard also noted the existence of a standing stone, 1.20m high and 0.5m wide in the lateritic plateau next to the cave, known to the local Badiaranké population as Dyalancoon, but no trace of it was found during our survey. The stone, Girard says, used to be associated with a very large tree in the middle of a dense forest, but which has been decimated since the 1980s by bush fires and droughts (Girard 1992, 20, 34).

According to Girard (1992, 213), rituals were celebrated at GNB up until the 1940s. The gathering took place around May, just before the beginning of the rainy season. The participants were different social groups connected the the myth of Ténéba Gassama: on the first line were the *nyanthio* clans; on the sides the casted specialists: leather workers, blacksmiths and griots. Cattle and goats were sacrificed by three elders in front of the *dyalan*, together with wine libations, after which the prayers for their annual wishes would start. While celebrations continued at the top, two of the elders would enter the cave with the hearts and livers of the sacrificed animals, as well as some wine for a ritual union between the *nyanthio* and the earth spirits.

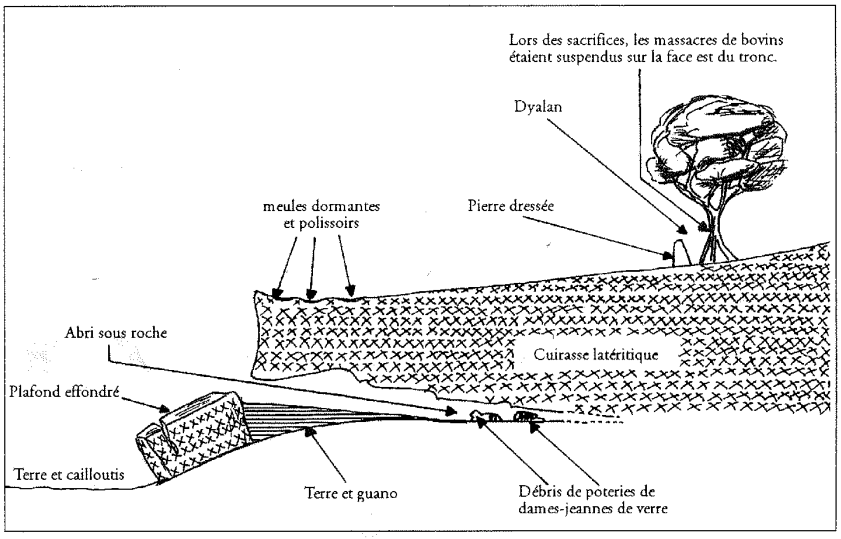


Fig.5.17 Sketch of Guedi Nyanthio Be. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

Fig.5.18 Guedi Nyanthio Be

Diouloung Fountere (UC-18) *N12.86038, W14.29008*

Lateritic outcrop of 40m^2 near the current village of Fouladou Yero. It includes an open rock shelter of approximately 4x2m and 0.5m high, with three small burrow-sized tunnels at the back, as well as multiple vertical openings and collapsed cave entrances throughout the outcrop. On the upper surface of the outcrop were polishing and sharpening marks, but no material culture was found. According to the local Fulbe elders, Diouloung Fountere is a Manding term meaning 'look but do not touch'; it is a haunted place, where hunters who venture inside never return (Pidiro elders, fieldnotes).

Guide Changale (UC-46) *N12.88579, W14.12100*

Meaning literally '*guide* of the porcupines', this is area of approximately 15x15m west of the current village of Kolda Molo. It is characterised by a series of openings on the ground; some more vertical and pit-like, others more horizontal and open, but all currently blocked by sediment accumulation. According to the current inhabitants, these entrances were accessible up to five years ago, and hunters who went inside to catch porcupines reported finding galleries tall enough to stand (elders of Kolda Molo, fieldnotes). This area was also visited by Girard, who argued that despite their earthy appearance, the pits and galleries were in fact excavated in the rock, and later covered by soil as a result of porcupine activity. He noted that the Badiaranké populations claimed Guide Changale as their ancestral habitat, but that the Fulbe considered the spot to be inhabited by monsters and djinns, and didn't dare to even mention its name (Girard (1992, 294). If Girard's observation was correct, this fearful attitude is now completely gone.

Fig.5.19 Diouloung Fountere

Guide Warva (UC-52) *N12.85337, W14.51683*

Near the village of Bassoum, and only 1km away from the polishing marks at Wendu Kadial (UC-51), Guide Warva consists of six rectangular pits, about 1m x 50cm on the surface and 1-1.7m deep, with openings at the base that could be interconnected galleries or tunnels, all partially or completely blocked. Shown to us

by a hunter who knew of its existence, but not any traditions about its origin or use.

Fig- 5.20 Guide Warva

Timpo Kolon (UC-60) *N12.74630, W14.18145*

Located 600m north of the village of Samasansan (see UC-59), this is a site of approximately 10x10m, very similar to Guide Changale at Kolda Molo (UC-46), consisting of a series of openings on the ground, now all blocked by sediment and rock. Known to the local Fulbe populations as Diouloung Fountere, the Manding call it Timpo Kolon, from *kolon* (well/pit) and *timpo*, a now extinct lizard that is believed to have dug the structure. As with Guide Changale, local hunters reported having formerly gone inside to hunt porcupines and encountering galleries where a person could stand up (elders of Samasansan, fieldnotes). This site was also visited by Girard, who in this case also reported the openings being already blocked (Girard 1994, 297).

5.6 Polishing and sharpening marks

Another common occurrence were polishing, sharpening, and cup marks on lateritic outcrops. These were in all cases right next to seasonal or permanent water courses, and in three out of the eleven sites recorded, associated with *guide* sites. There are no oral traditions about these sites, but some elders described them as ancestor's footsteps solidified by the passage of time. The marks always appear in clusters, but the size of the clusters greatly varies, ranging from the four at Kolda

Molo (UC-49) to the many hundreds at Wendu Pete (UC-4).

Their dating is difficult to establish: on the one hand they are similar to marks associated with ceramic LSA sites in Mali (cf. MacDonald 1997), but on the other, the making of sharpening marks was described by the French explorer Hecquard in the 19th C:

> '*Le pied de cette montagne est un grès rougeâtre dont le grain est très fin e qui sert au habitants pour repasser leurs couteaux et leurs instruments aratoires*'[2] (Hecquard 1853, 421).

As most of these sites are quite similar to each other, I will not describe them individually. Instead, the different types of marks can be seen Fig.5.22, Table 5.1 reflects their presence or absence at the different sites; and Fig. 5.21 their distribution. More information on the location and dimensions of each site can be found in Appendix B.

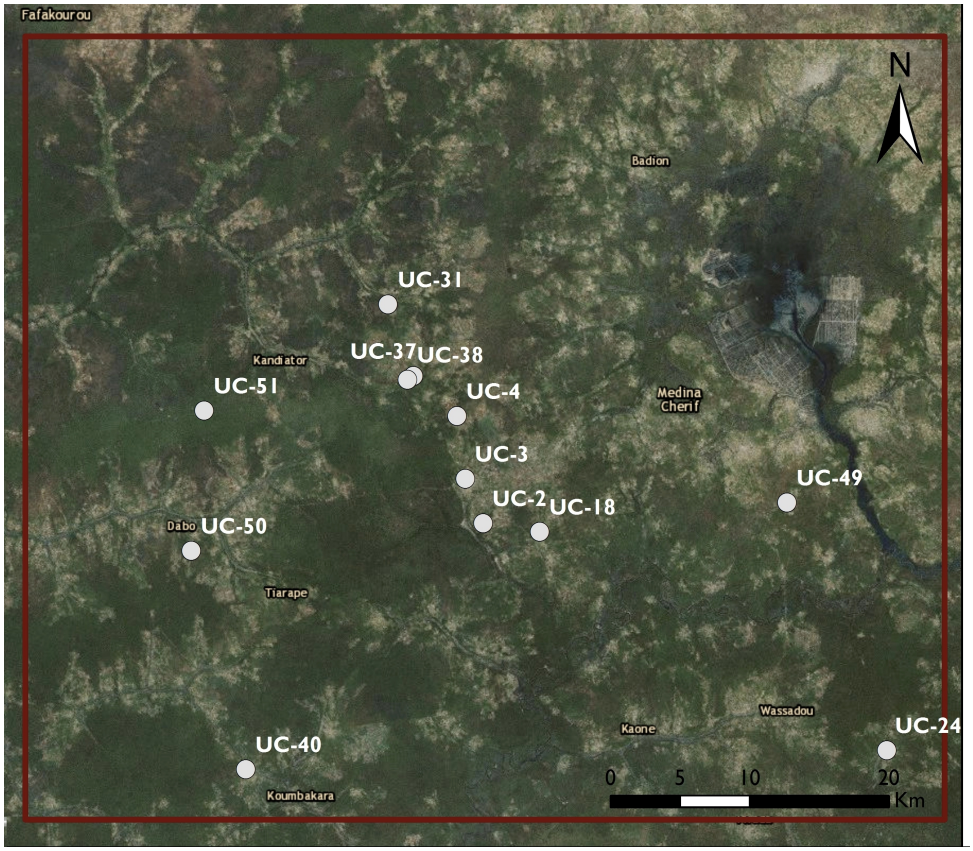


Fig. 5.21 Distribution of stone marks. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

2 'At the foot of that mountain there is a reddish stone of very fine grain and which the inhabitants use to sharpen their knifes and ploughing instruments'.

Table 5.1: Stone mark sites

Site code	Name	Polishing marks	Sharpening marks	Cup marks
UC-2	Guedi Nyantio Be	x		
UC-3	Mampatim Pete	x		
UC-4	Wendu Pete	x	x	x
UC-18	Diouloung Fountere	x		
UC-21	Teppel Sira Ulo	x	x	
UC-22	Berberoto	x	x	
UC-24	Tumbu Payoungou	x		
UC-31	Wulumbau	x	x	
UC-37	Dembayumine	x	x	
UC-38	Dembayumine 2	x		
UC-40	Perlel	x		
UC-49	Ferlo	x		
UC-51	Wendu Kadial	x	x	

Sharpening marks

Polishing marks

Cup marks

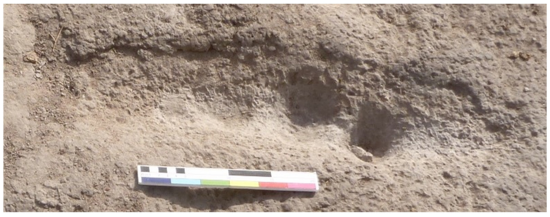


Fig. 5.22 Types of stone marks (scale indicates 20cm)

5.6 Other sites

Burials

Three sites (Patim Tibo, UC-16; Korop, UC-55; and Sansankoro, UC-26) had marked burials in, or near, the *tumbu*. These were in all cases said to be local leaders from the Fulaadu period and their relatives, and the tombs were marked by the presence of large trees. We also recorded a small mound of lateritic rocks near Pidiro (UC-10) said to be a mass grave of seven soldiers belonging to Musa Molo's army. The story of this latter site is well remembered because the grandfather of the current *jarga* was present at the inhumation (Bakary Balde, fieldnotes).

Slag scatters

Slag was fairly common in abandoned habitation sites (present on 50% of them), but it also occurred on its own (UC-5) and in association with polishing marks (UC-31). The geology of the region is characterised by highly ferruginous lateritic outcrops, thus making raw materials for iron production readily available. None of the current blacksmiths smelt iron anymore, and they have no memory of when the practice was abandoned.

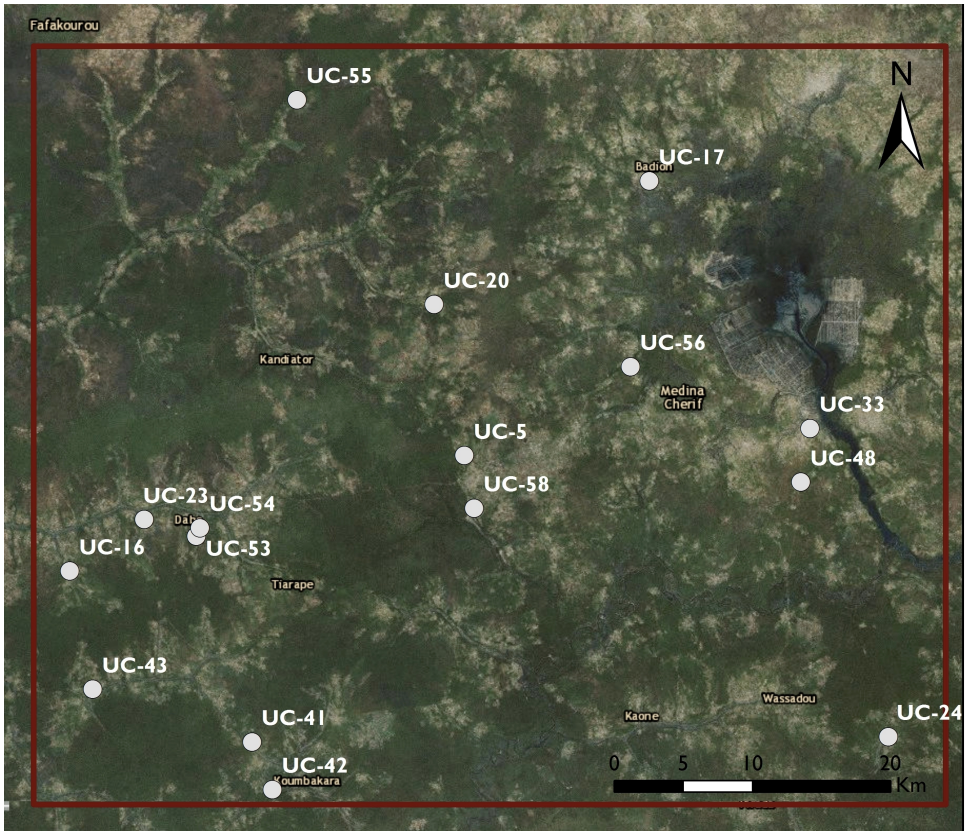


Fig. 5.23 Distribution of sites with slag remains. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Stone circles

One stone circle was found during the survey, right next to the stone marks at Dembayumine II (UC-38). It was made of apparently unworked lateritic rocks, arranged in two rows forming a circumference of approximately 2m in diameter. The whole area along the stream on which the polishing marks were located was in fact covered in similar rocks, some in potentially anthropogenic arrangements, but out of them only the circle left no doubts with regards to its human-made nature. Additionally, an elder of Sare Pathe Bouya reported that his sister used to worship a *dyalan* consisting of a standing stone with breasts in the vicinity, but that he has not been able to find it again since his sister's death (Int. 14).

Fig. 5.24 Lateritic stone circle at Dembayumine II (UC-38)

Colonial structures

Most colonial constructions in the area either have been demolished or are still in use, but we encountered two instances of abandoned colonial infrastructure. The first one was the residence of Baba Moulai Balde, *chef de canton* of Patim Tibo between 1941 and 1960 (UC-6). The remains consisted of a square cement foundation, a trough, and an abandoned well. The second site included an abandoned road and bridge in the vicinity of Pidiro, right next to the tomb of Musa Molo's soldiers previously described (UC- 10).

Dyalan

Although many of them are not archaeological sites strictly speaking, the importance of *dyalan* for the local understanding of the historical landscapes and their crucial role in oral traditions makes their inclusion in the discussion necessary. As discussed in Ch. 4, *dyalan* are sacred spaces, generally trees or standing stones, where sacrifices were often made. The ten cases we recorded during the survey were all trees, but both Girard (1992) and local elders (e.g. Int. 14) describe examples of standing stones being used as *dyalan* until recently. In Payoungou, an elder said that *dyalan* were originally animals, and that only later people started worshipping trees (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16). *Dyalan* are powerful places, connected to the ancestors, and deeply intertwined with oral histories, anchoring myth, legend, and history onto the landscape. Furthermore, the presence of a *dyalan* was presented in all cases as a proof of the historical importance and powerful nature of the town. Figure 5.25 illustrates the 10 *dyalan* encountered and their location, and Table 5.2 their nature.

Table 5.2: Dyalan encountered during survey

Site code	Village	Dyalan name	Species	Location
UC-2	Mampatim Sinthian	Guedi Nyanthio Bé	No longer present	N12.86578 W14.32669
UC-9	Kounkane	Diambatulu	*Ceiba pentandra*	N12.93729 W14.07673
UC-24	Payoungou	Tamba Dibi	*Neocarya macrophylla*	N12.73123 W14.06399
UC-24	Payoungou	Dyalan Bantan		N12.71741 W14.06793
UC-28	Muntumba	Bantanui	*Ceiba pentandra*	N13.05826 W14.14912
UC-32	Kabendou	Tamba Dibi	*Neocarya macrophylla*	N12.92357 W14.11619
UC-55	Korop	?	*Adansonia digitata*	N13.13879 W14.45155
UC-59	Samassandang	Tenemba	*Ceiba pentandra*	N12.73841 W14.17920
UC-59	Samassandang	Salimatou	*Parkia biglobosa*	N12.73663 W14.17822
UC-59	Samassandang	Dado	*Ceiba pentandra*	N12.73724 W14.17549

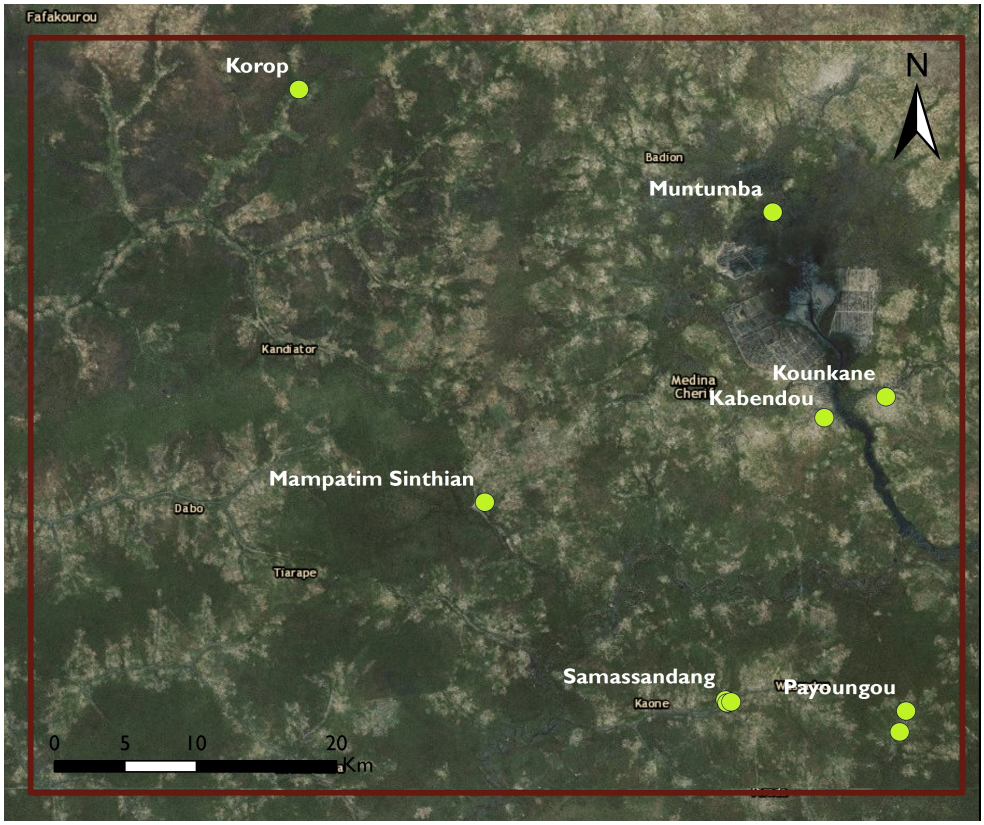


Fig 5. 25: Distribution of dyalan encountered during survey

5.7 Discussion: placing sites in the landscape

So far in this chapter, I have described the different types of sites as independent entities, artificially isolating them from each other and from the landscapes they were embedded in. This isolation had the advantage of making patterns for each of the different types of sites noticeable, and exposing their similarities and differences, but precluded the exploration of how the different site types relate to each other and articulate the multiple landscape layers described in Ch.4. In this last section, I redress this situation, by taking a wider look at the relationships and interconnections between the different sites types and their role in the landscape, while also reviewing the patterns identified for each of the individual categories.

The majority of sites identified were abandoned villages or *tumbu,* ranging from short-lived recent occupations to historical towns with prominent roles in the Kaabu epics. Despite their diversity, however, all *tumbu* but one (the small mound at Uraro, UC-27), had in common the lack of any visible stratigraphy. Notwithstanding the limitations of the survey, I believe this absence of tell-sites is

characteristic of the region, for two main reasons: first, it is a very flat area, where tell sites would clearly stand out and would be difficult to miss. Secondly, it is also a densely populated human landscape, where people live off the land and have an extremely good knowledge of their surroundings. The extent and detail of this knowledge is such that on several occasions elders pointed us in the direction of remains of *tataji* under 30 cm high up to 40km away. Consequently, and despite the methodological limitations of the survey, it is reasonable to conclude that there are in fact no tell sites in the area, and that the archaeological landscape is characterised by a great degree of mobility.

As for the nature of this mobility, in Ch. 4, I discussed how oral traditions and historical texts reflect the existence of two types of mobility (shifts and moves) whose combination resulted in two parallel phenomena: ephemeral villages and shifting towns. While the current evidence is too limited to confidently determine which of these was responsible for the formation of the different sites, some relevant indications are available. For example, although the flat nature of most sites and the restriction of pottery to cultivated areas precluded the recording of reliable site sizes, estimates based on a combination of local knowledge and surface pottery reveal an interesting pattern: the largest sites are also those which oral traditions consider to be the oldest (see Fig. 5.26). This correlation indicates two things: first, that the identification of historical towns in griotic epics is relatively accurate; and secondly, that shifting patterns might be behind these large but shallow historical sites.

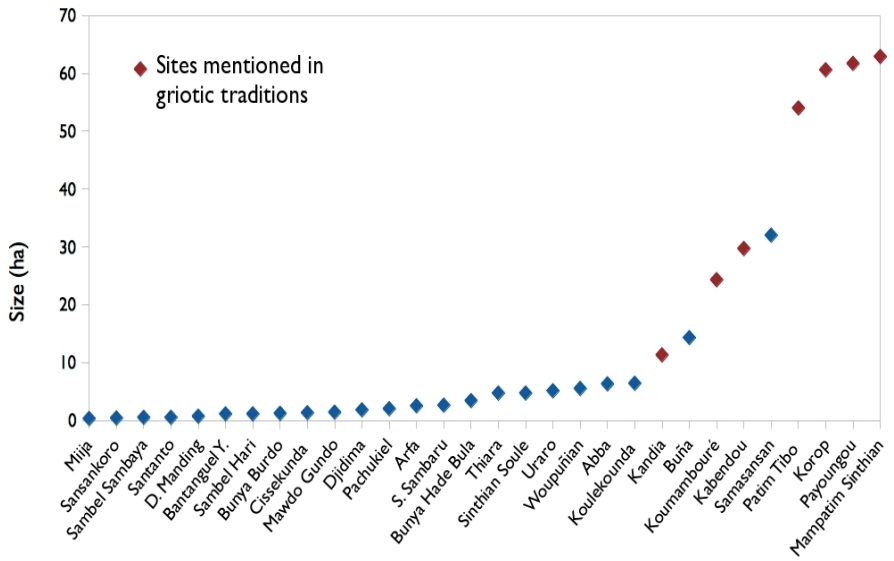


Fig. 5.26 Tumbu size

Finally, in terms of site location, the nature of the survey does not allow for reliable assessments of site distribution patterns, but is is noteworthy that all recorded *tumbu* were located less than 1km away from a potential *risière,* i.e. a seasonally flooded area suitable for rice cultivation.

Despite the high degree of mobility suggested by these patterns, there are two elements anchoring settlements in the landscape: *dyalan* and wells. Both are problematic archaeologically as they are difficult to date, but they are key, often interrelated parts of the definition of the human and sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance, both past and present. As a prerequisite for a settlement and a labour-intensive investment, wells are key dimensions in the conceptualisation of a village, whether living or abandoned, and central to foundation and abandonment narratives. Old wells are particularly important, for like *dyalan,* they testify to the antiquity and relevance of the village. In some cases (e.g. Kandia, UC-17), old wells are believed to have magical properties, and to be connected to certain *dyalan* or other wells through underground currents (Int. 5). Furthermore, all across West Africa it is common to hear how after military defeats people (especially women) threw themselves and all their wealth inside a well to avoid slavery and looting. Kaabu is no exception, as the examples of Kandia (Int. 5) and Kansala (Int. 30) demonstrate. In terms of their morphology, when the wells are still in use, it is possible to distinguish between recent, colonial, and pre-colonial wells (due to the use of different drilling technologies resulting in markedly different shafts), but unfortunately most wells around *tumbu* had been abandoned and filled.

As for *dyalan,* the examples identified and visited during the survey confirmed many of the elements discussed in Ch. 4: they are sources of power and authority, perceived as permanent reference points in the landscape, and whose most famous and powerful examples are always linked to political power centres (e.g. Kansala, Payoungou, Kabendou). Nevertheless, the survey also revealed another set of minor *dyalan*, which do not appear in epic traditions and are generally not known beyond the local area, but which play key roles in embodying the village's history. *Dyalan* like those at Muntumba, Samasansan or Korop are perceived by the populations as proof and symbols of the importance of their towns. They are seen as witnesses of history, sometimes quite literally: the antiquity of Korop was supposedly revealed to the elders by the local *dyalan*, via a passing scholar (Daouda Balde, Int. 27). Of course, perception of antiquity and actual antiquity are not necessarily the same thing, but until some reliable form of dating

becomes available (e.g. through the ceramic remains inside GNB), oral traditions about *dyalan* remain our only source for developing working hypotheses. As for the location of *dyalan*, sometimes they were right in the middle of the village, like Payoungou's Dyalan Bantan, sometimes a few hundred meters away, like Guedi Nyanthio Be; but in all cases there was a direct association with a village. Interestingly, all villages with *dyalan* had Manding names, except for three (Mampatim, Korop, and Kounkane) whose names are of unknown origin.

Regarding the *tata*, although only 6 (out of 12 recorded) were visible on the surface or through satellite imagery, their shapes, sizes and proportions are remarkably consistent. Except for that at Bantanguel Yawayou and the third *tata* in Korop, all the recorded *tata* were either square or almost square, maintaining a largely constant proportion, as reflected in Fig. 5.27; and in all cases their walls were approximately aligned with the cardinal points. Surprisingly, none of the *tata* presented the zig-zag outline described by Hecquard (1853, 205) as characteristic of Kaabu's tataji in the 19th C. In terms of their position in relation to settlement, village elders provided two contradictory versions: while Aliou Balde from Temanto Tobo said: 'the *tata* was on one side, and the *tumbu* on the other. You know, if there is power within a village, it locates itself at one end and the village at the other. That's the rule' (Int. 23); Payoungou Seydi from Payoungou claimed that the *tata* was always at the centre and the village orbited around it (Int. 32). While the constraints in site size determination derived from limited surface visibility do not allow to confidently resolve this discrepancy, the collected data do provide some

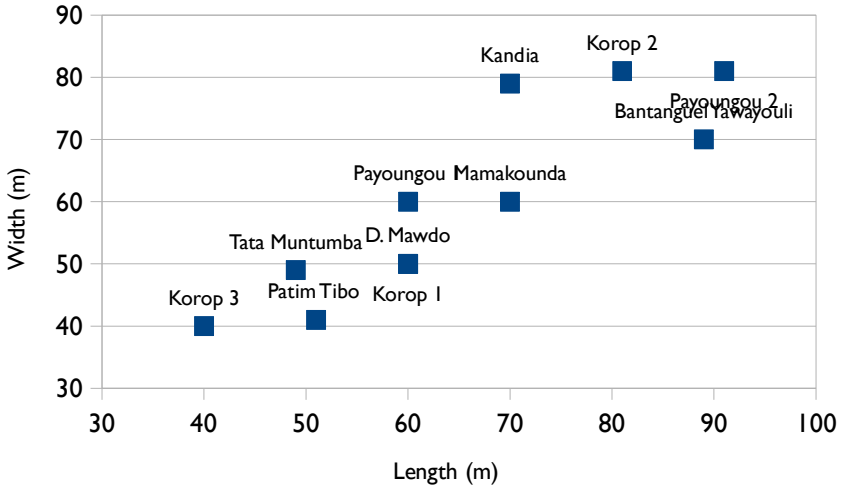


Fig. 5.27. Tata sizes

light, as cases like Patim Tibo or Payoungou show that at least in some instances the *tata* was right in the middle of the village, rather than apart from it.

In terms of dating, as discussed in Ch.8, the attribution of *tumbu* and *tataji* to particular periods is constrained by both the scarce amounts of surface pottery, and the limited chronological variation of pottery traditions over time. In total, only 13 sites presented sherds with chronologically diagnostic features (see Table 8.9). Combining this ceramic information with oral histories about the Fulaadu and colonial era (as prior to that traditions start to be chronologically problematic), and references from European sources, it was possible to attribute periods of occupation to all *tumbu* and *tataji*, shown in Fig. 5.28. These attributions, however, come with important caveats: firstly, the relative amounts for each period are not representative, as recent periods are undoubtedly over-represented by the input of oral histories. Secondly, the presence of *tataji* only in Late Kaabu/Fulaadu is probably the result of the dating method: since most of them were not cultivated (and thus did not have surface pottery), their dating relied on oral histories, which were only used for the two most recent periods. Finally, it is necessary to bear in mind that the proportion of chronologically diagnostic sherds for each period is extremely low, and that therefore absence of evidence is definitely not evidence of absence in this case. The individual information for all the sites and the methods employed for dating each of them can be found in Appendix B.

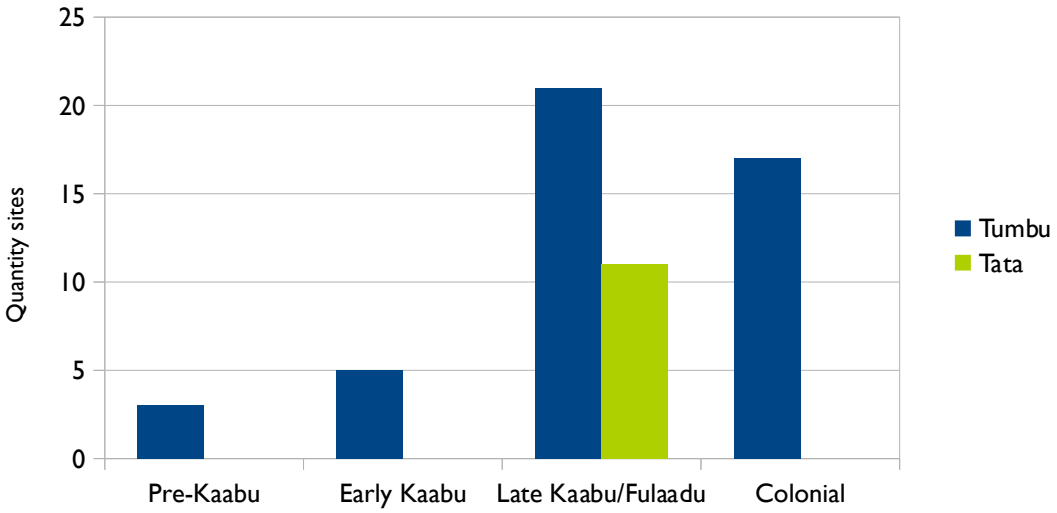


Fig. 5.28 Number of sites by period (based on surface pottery, historical written sources, and oral traditions

Finally, *guide* and stone marks, on the other hand, remain among the less well-understood of the Upper Casamance sites, and in the absence of any dates for either, it is difficult to both interpret them and to understand their relationship with the wider landscape. Although sometimes close to current or abandoned villages, the distribution of stone marks does not seem to be related to that of settlement sites, but it does –logically– follow that of lateritic outcrops. *Guide,* on the contrary, were all located in the immediate proximity of an abandoned village, with the one exception of Guide Warva (UC-52). As for their function, it is possible that Girard was right in explaining them as subterranean inhabitations and refuges for dangerous times, but the present evidence does not allow to either confirm or disprove his interpretation.

The survey data, therefore, shed light on a variety of important aspects: they confirm narratives about mobility have a clear material correlate, both in terms of shifts and of long-distance movements. The limited number of *tataji* and their homogeneity in terms of shape, orientation, and size, support the existence of a certain degree of political centralisation and coordination. The local perception of both major and minor *dyalan* as 'historical anchors', reinforces previously explored notions of permanent sacred landscapes against fluid settlement and political structures, but these remain just conjectural until reliable dates can be obtained for their physical manifestations. All these themes will be picked up again in Ch. 10, after discussing how intra-site patterns contribute to, and expand on, this debate.

CHAPTER 6: PAYOUNGOU

Following the survey, two sites at opposite corners of the survey area were chosen for excavation due to their remarkable size, historical importance, surface evidence, and associated oral traditions. In this chapter I discuss the first of them, Payoungou. I start by briefly describing the present village and its political, economic, and environmental context, followed by a review of what oral traditions and historical written sources have to say about its past. After a brief discussion concerning the story of Payoungou's historic cannon, I proceed to describe the archaeological site and the methods and results of the excavation. I end the chapter by drawing together all the sources described in order to review what they can tell us about the evolution of Payoungou over time.

6.1 Location and current village

Located at N 12.71593 and W14.06689, Payoungou is currently in the Rural Community of Wassadou, four kilometres from the Guinea-Bissau border. Its population, estimated at 1325 inhabitants in 2011 (PEPAM 2012) self-identifies as Manding and lives mainly on mixed agriculture and herding. The current village occupies 17.2 ha, and it is the only officially classified 'historical village' in the Kolda region (ANSD 2009, 108).

Getting to Payoungou is not easy, especially during the rainy season. Leaving the paved road at Diaobé, after 30km of degraded yet busy laterite track, there is the even smaller track leading to Payoungou. There is no electricity, other than that supplied by one or two solar panels donated by NGOs, and water is taken from the multiple wells scattered around the village. The village has a primary school, two health centres and a crêche, again all built by NGOs, but except for the school none of them is fully operational. A mobile phone tower is the most recent addition to the village.

Despite its apparent remoteness, Payoungou is surprisingly well connected to the world, although in an uneven way. Community and national radios mean that the latest Beyoncé singles can be heard among the huts, and football fans in the village are up-to-the-minute with the latest transfers in the Champions League thanks to daily commutes to Diaobé, where electricity and satellite dishes are common. Many young people migrate even further away, as seasonal or permanent workers to the Siin or Dakar, and an increasing number is continuing their studies

beyond primary school, going on to secondary school, and in some cases even university.

Although Payoungou's current economic and political significance is rather limited, there is a sense of past importance, of lost former glory, common to most Manding villages we visited, but particularly poignant here, as they claim to have been not just one of Kaabu's great towns, but in fact its spiritual core. This importance and power is recognised across the region, and manifests itself also through certain interdictions, like the belief that any civil servant or politician who stays the night will soon lose its post (APS 2012).

Fig. 6.1 Main street in Payoungou, 2013

6.2 Oral traditions:

Payoungou, together with Kabendou, is one of the few locales in the study area that is known across the Kaabunke world, from the Gambia to Guinea Bissau, connected to both crucial events and central characters in Kaabu's history, in epic narratives as well as in local traditions. Epic narratives, although mostly held by griots, have also infiltrated village elders' traditions, and therefore both sources are used in this review. Additionally, the site also features in a set of more localised and rooted, but not any less important, elder traditions, discussed later when describing the archaeological site. Since Payoungou has had no political or economic importance since the fall of Kansala in the 1860s, its importance in oral traditions across the Senegambia cannot be the result of a projection of more recent events onto the past and it is therefore reasonable to assume that it stems from a genuine

political centrality of the town in Late Kaabu times and/or earlier periods.

Payoungou and Tiramakan

According to the Bijini Tarikh, Payoungou was the first town founded by Tiramakan (founder of Kaabu) on his arrival in the Senegambia. It thus became the base from which he launched the conquest of the region, as well as Kaabu's first capital (Giesing & Vidrine 2007, 380). This tradition is also cited by the Portuguese colonial administrator Francisco Grandao, who adds how 'Paiungo' remained Kaabu's capital until a king by the name of Mansairá Sané transferred it to Kansala (Grandão 1947, 450). Although Grandao cites a local elder by the name of Mamadou Balde as his source, the Bijini manuscript (see Ch. 1) was known to the Portuguese colonial authorities (Jansen 2009,139), and therefore its influence on this statement cannot be ruled out. This notion of Payoungou as the first power centre of Kaabu is also shared by local traditions: 'royalty (*lammu*) started in Payoungou', was a commonly repeated phrase in our interviews both in Payoungou and elsewhere (e.g. int. 16 & 30). According to Ousmane Camara from Payoungou, on his arrival at the village, Tiramakan encountered some Bainouk populations, which he chased away. Having settled, he sent his elder son Fatamba to Paroumba and his younger son Tananké to Kawaral in Guinea, but Tiramakan himself stayed in Payoungou (Int. 16).

Payoungou and nyanthio origin myth

Among the versions of the *nyanthio* origin myth collected by Jean Girard (1992), there are two recorded in Payoungou, which provide a greater insight into the town's involvement in the myth. According to these versions, the first king of Payoungou was Nasso Mansa Wali Ba, who was succeeded by his brothers, Koumanthio Sané and Koumanthio Wali. They were in turn replaced by Mansa Coloumbiti, and it is during the reign of this latter that Tenemba Gassama, the ancestor of the *nyanthio* lived. As for Tenemba's relation with Mansa Columbiti, the two traditions differ: one considers her his daughter; the other one says Columbiti married Tenemba's daughter, Balaba. In both cases, Balaba ends up living in Payoungou (Girard 1992, 208-9). According to the elders in Sare Pathe Bouya, there is a *tarikh* (written historical document) in Soumacounda which says Balaba Tinguida was the daughter of the king of Payoungou and from the Sané lineage (int. 14).

Payoungou at the height of Kaabu

According to most traditions, Payoungou was the capital of Pathiana, one of the three *nyanthio* territories, controlled by the Sane lineage. Later subdivided into smaller states (including Pirada and Propana), Pathiana is consistently described as a key area and power centre throughout Kaabu's history (Cissoko 1972, 8; Galloway 1980, 31; Kuyate 1980, 19). Some of Payoungou's key rulers remembered by oral traditions include Saa Demba Mane, Ngaleng Mama Kumba, and Mamadou Nyanchoding, the latter being the last *nyanthio* to have lived in Payoungou, according to the griot Sana Kuyaté (Galloway (1980, 31). As discussed in Ch. 5, Payoungou was also the origin of the ruling clans of other Kaabu towns, including Kabendou (Sana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980).

Payoungou during Kaabu's decline

Payoungou is also connected to the two key characters of the final period of Kaabu: Dianke Wali and Kelefa Sane. In relation to the latter, Payoungou is said to have been the place of origin of Kelefa's father (Camara 2010, 7), as well as the location of the *dyalan* that Fanta Nanky (Kelefa's mother), prayed to in order to conceive Kelefa (Int. 18). In the case of Dianke Wali, some traditions claim he was born in Payoungou (Sana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980, 31; Niane 1989, 140; Malang Diamanka, Int.29). The Payoungou elders, however, say that his mother was indeed from Payoungou, but that she married in Kabendou, and that is where Dianke Wali was born. Those at Koulekounda, however, state that it was his father, Fali Sane, who was from Payoungou (Ousamen Drame Int. 18). Regardless of his original connection to Payoungou, when it became Pathiana's turn to rule in Kaabu, Dianke Wali was taken there again to be tested by the *dyalan* (Musa Sane, Int. 16).

After the fall of Kansala, Samanka Demba (aka Toura Sane), Dianke Wali's son, is said to have led a contingent of refugees to Payoungou, where they settled (Girard 1992). Additionally, in the 19th C Musa Molo is reported to have also spent a night in Payoungou after defeating Koniadji Mo Fa Dienoung, king of Paroumba (Int. 11).

6.3 Written sources

Despite its great role in oral traditions, Payoungou only appears in written sources from the late 1840s onwards. As discussed in Ch.3, one of the reasons for the endurance of Kaabu is how it kept its centres of political power in the interior, in areas where few or no Europeans dared to venture. Even so, it is quite remarkable how even after centuries of trade with Kaabu, no names of inland towns appear in European texts until the mid 19th C; suggesting secrecy about the interior by both the Kaabunke and their intermediaries. The first written mention to both Kansala and Payoungou takes place in 1849, when Bertrand-Bocandé included 'Payonko' and 'Gansala' as regions of Kaabu in a map (see Fig. 6.2). In the accompanying text, he explained that Payoungou *used* to be a town, but that it was destroyed, and that the term came to designate the region governed from the town of Pirada. The region of Payoungou, he adds, is one of the three whose kings alternated in the throne at 'Gansala' and took the title of Cabou Mansa Ba; and is largely populated by the 'Soninké' (i.e. non Muslim Manding), but including also a large number of 'Maures' (Fulbe) and 'Foules' (Fulbe Futa) (Bertrand-Bocande 1849b, 67).

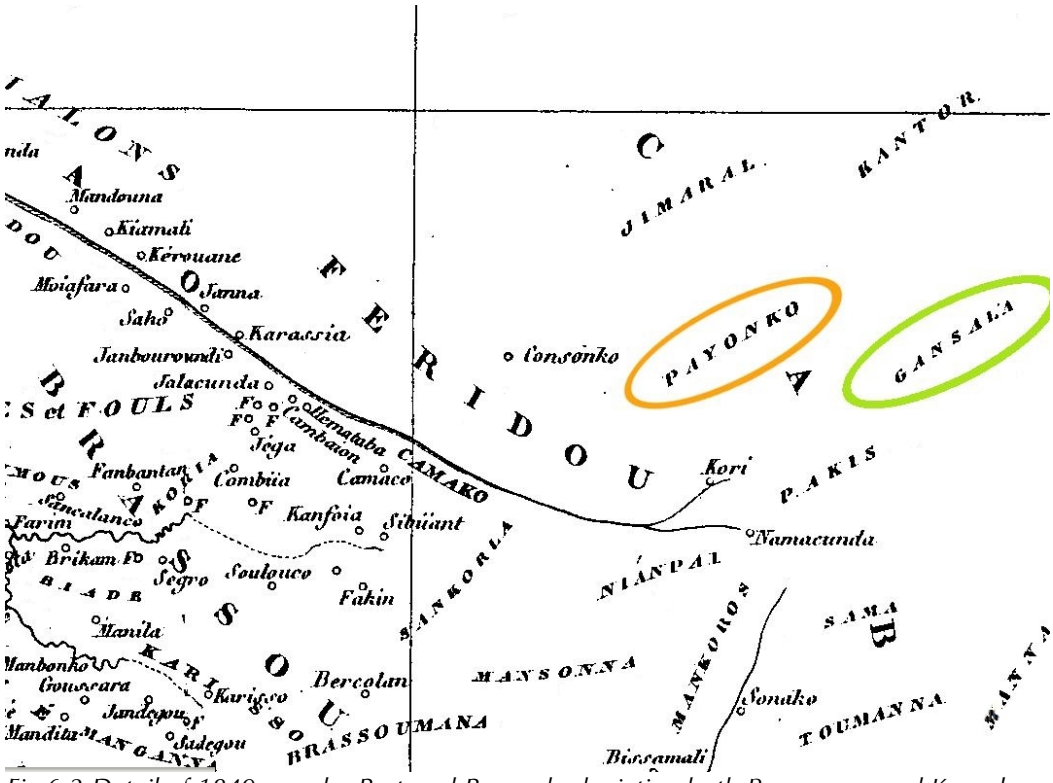


Fig.6.2 Detail of 1849 map by Bertrand-Bocande depicting both Payoungou and Kansala as regions

A few years later, the explorer Hyacinthe Hecquard, visiting the region on his way to the Futa Djallon wrote:

> *'Le pays dans lequel nous nous trouvions despuis le passage du Bagéba est borné au Nord par le Kangaye et gouverné par un Guelware qui habite Pourada, grand village entouré d'un fort tata, et situé dans l'Ouest à une journée de marche d'Outoumba. Il est appelé Payoungou par les Mandingues, Pralelatinguara ou Pourada, du nom de sa capitale, par les Peulhs'*[1] (1853, 200).

Although Hecquard's route passed 15km east of Payoungou (he stayed overnight at Manato, see Fig. 6.4), he makes no reference to Payoungou as a town, whether existing or abandoned, yet mentions Pirada ('Pourada' in the text), which is 10km further away than Payoungou. The combination of Bertrand Bocandé's comments and Hecquard's observations therefore suggest that by the 1840s-1850s Payoungou was no longer an important power centre (although it had previously been, as its name was still used to refer to its region), and that it might even have been temporally abandoned. If it was, however, by 1906 it appears to have been repopulated, as demonstrated by its appearance in a Portuguese map of the region (see Fig. 6.3). From then on, references to Payoungou in colonial administrative documents become common.

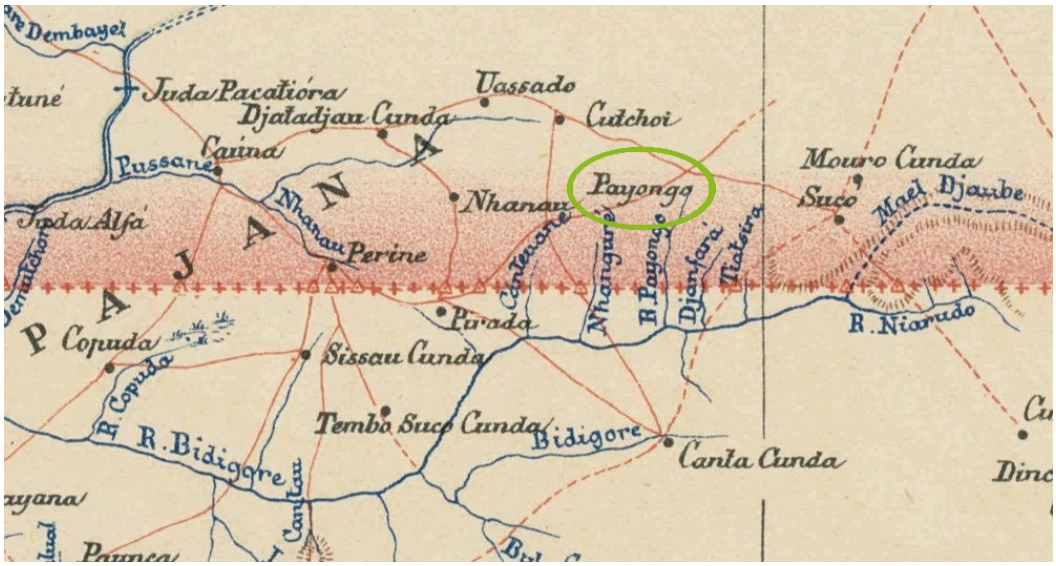


Fig.6.3 Detail of 1906 Portuguese map including 'Payongo' as a village in its current location. Comissão de Cartografia.1906. Esboço da Carta da Provincia da Guiné. 1:500,000.

1 'The country in which we find ourselves after crossing the Bagéba limits at the north with Kangaye and is governed by a Guelware who lives in Pourada, a large village surrounded by a strong *tata*, and located at the west at one day walk from Outoumba. It is called Payoungou by the Manding, Pralelatinguara or Poudara, from the name of its capital, by the Peulhs'

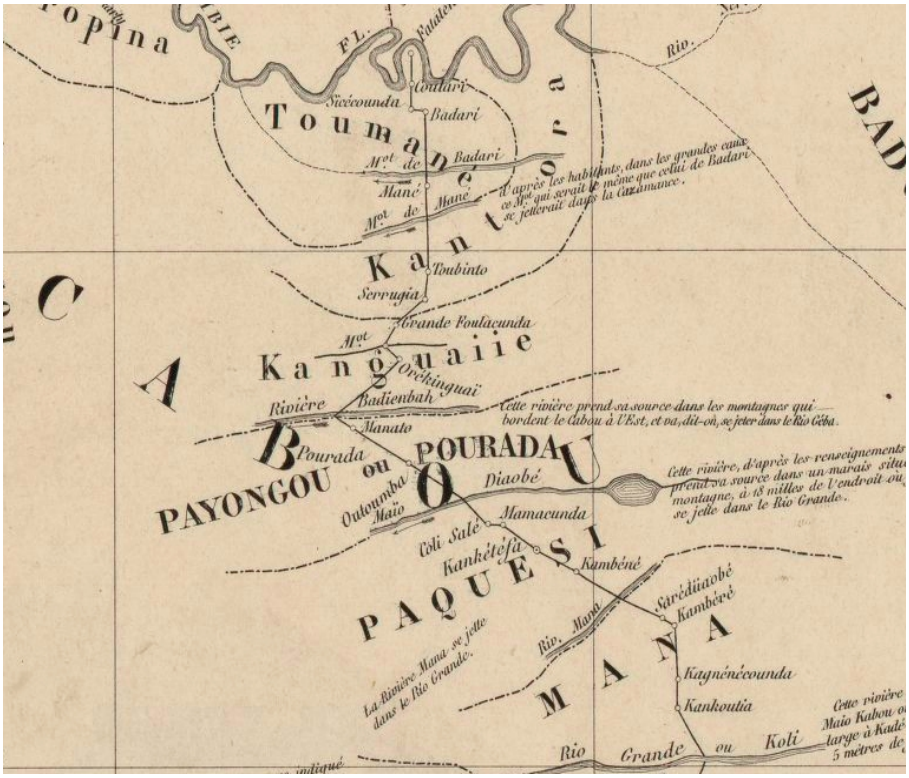


Fig.6.4 Detail of H. Hecquard's 1851 map of his journey to the Futa Djallon. Hecquard, H. 1851. Croquis d'une partie de l'Afrique Occidentale pour servir à l'Intelligence du voyage a Timbo.

6.4 Payoungou's cannon

On our very first visit to Payoungou, we encountered some reticence towards foreign researchers as a result of an incident that occurred in the 1970s, when according to the elders, a 'white man' took away a sacred cannon from the village and moved it to a museum in Dakar. This was, according to the elders, an 'anti-Islamic' cannon, which if placed at the east of a tree, would move itself to the west side. It was found by the villagers while cultivating a field on abandoned ground (the same field that our unit A would be placed in), and later moved to a tree near the road, next to the new health centre, before it was seized and taken to Dakar (fieldnotes).

On my return to Dakar, I visited the Gorée Historical Museum, which I remembered had a cannon room, and thanks to the assistance of Dr Cyr Descamps, located not just the cannon itself (see Fig. 6.5), but also all the papers documenting its acquisition (reproduced in Appendix C). According to these documents, the cannon was taken from Payoungou by a team from the Direction National du Patrimoine headed by Guy Thilmans, from the Prehistory Department at IFAN, on

the 16th of June 1973. It is a small swivel cannon, weighing 54.5 kg, 80cm long, and with a 45mm calibre (Descamps & Thilmans 1973). The cannon has never been studied, but its morphology indicates it was of 18th C British manufacture. It was not a military piece, nor did it belong to the East India Company, as it does not have any incised or cast crest. This sort of cannon was generally used on ships, or on smaller boats to give firepower upon landing on hostile territory, as well as on forts as wall pieces (S. Summerfield, *pers.comm.*). As the cannon was found inland and in the *tata* area of Payoungou, this last option seems to be the most likely in this case.

Furthermore, the Payoungou cannon is not unique. In the same trip, Thilmans and his team collected two other larger cannons from Vouropana (also in the Kolda region, but closer to the Gambia), which are also now in the Gorée Museum. Furthermore, in 1947, the head of the Portuguese colonial post at Pirada, 19km from Payoungou, reported having found two cannons in the old fortifications, one 60cm long, which was taken to the Ethnographic Museum in Bissau (in Fig.6.7), and another one which was lost. Most importantly, he states that these were pieces of artillery used by the Manding to defend the town against the Fulbe (Grandão 1947,454). Finally, the villagers of Sare Amady (a small hamlet immediately north of Payoungou's archaeological site, showed us a fragment of a very similar cannon, also found during cultivation, and currently used to sharpen up hoes (see Fig.6.8).

Fig.6.5 The cannon in 2013 at the Gorée Museum

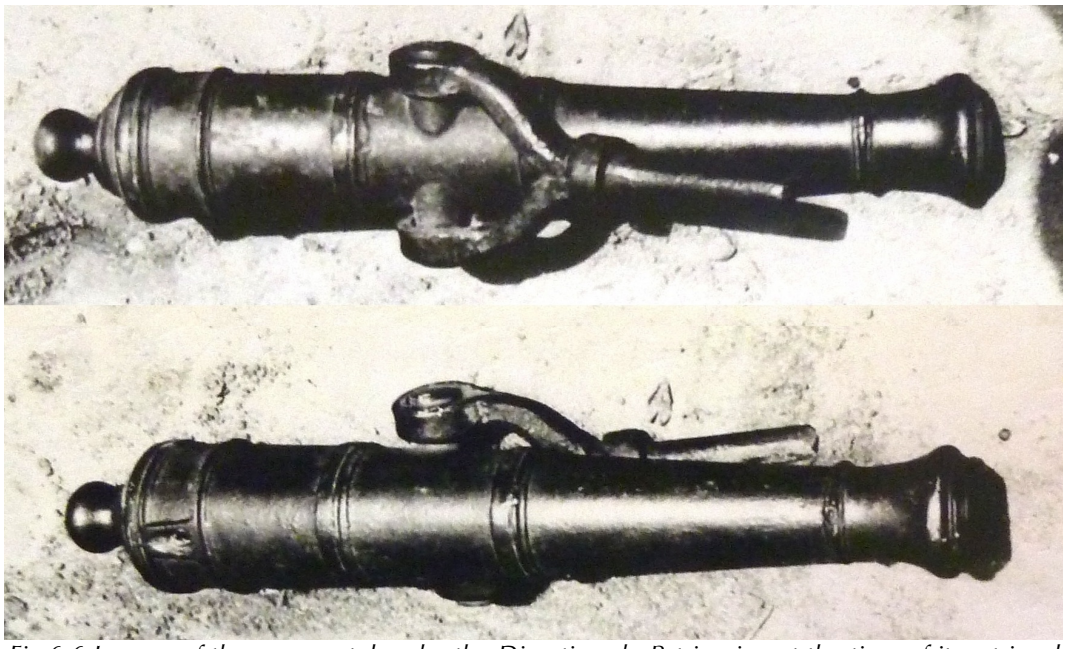


Fig.6.6 Images of the cannon taken by the Direction du Patrimoine at the time of its retrieval from Payoungou. Adapted from Descamps & Thilmans 1967

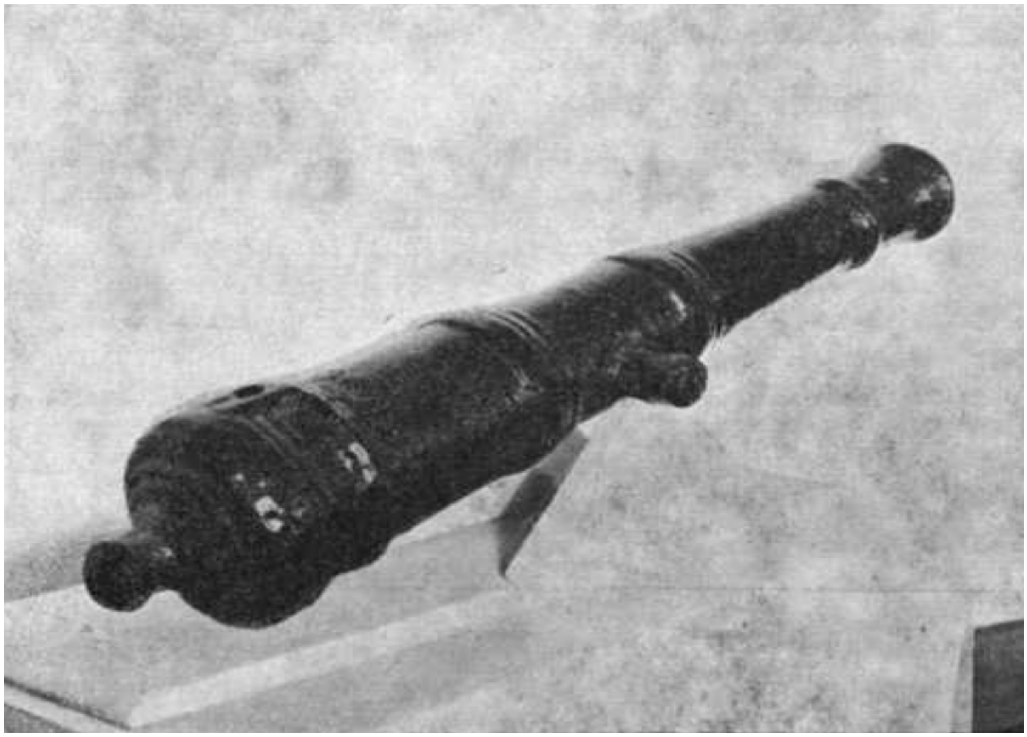


Fig. 6.7 Cannon from Pirada. Reproduced from Grandão 1947

Fig. 6.8 Fragment of a similar cannon in the nearby village of Sare Amadi

6.5 The archaeological site

The archaeological site lies immediately north of the present village, potentially also under it, and its location is well known to the current inhabitants. On our first visit, the elders stated there were two *tataji* and one *tumbu,* but both the nature of the elements described and their location changed over successive visits and depending on the informant. The site's southern and northern limits are marked by two *dyalan* trees, the Tamba Dibi in the north, and the Dyalan Bantan in the south –although this latter no longer exists –, and on the west by a seasonal stream. The site is divided in two along the N-S axis by the track that connects the village with the road to Wassadou. Approximately a third of the site is currently cultivated, mostly with cotton and peanut. The rest is either fallow land, lateritic outcrops, or areas which are left uncultivated for a variety of reasons. In general terms, the site presents a gradual slope descending towards the seasonal stream to the west, with some minor undulations which I initially thought could be archaeological but excavation demonstrated were natural. While visibility in the cultivated areas is excellent, and surface pottery abundant by the region's standards, the uncultivated areas (with the exception of the lateritic outcrop at the centre of the site) are covered in dense, tall, grass. In addition to pottery, surface finds included substantial amounts of slag in the south of the older *tumbu* and small amounts of glass in the larger *tata*.

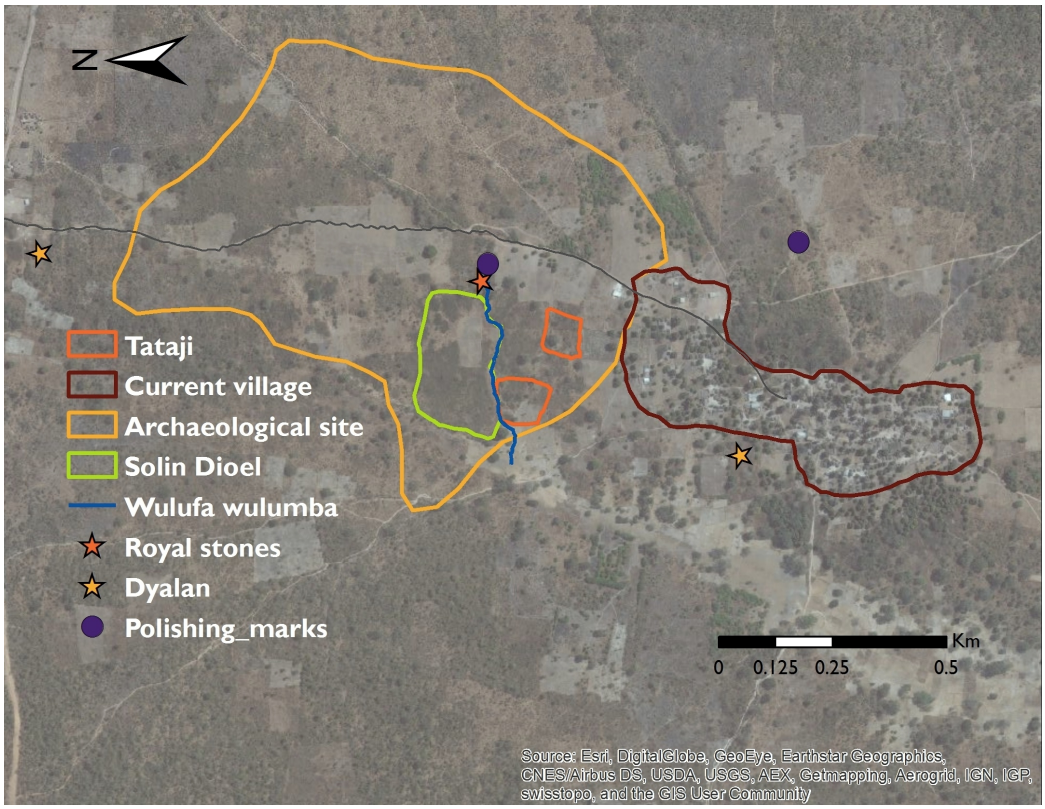


Fig. 6.9 Payoungou's archaeological site

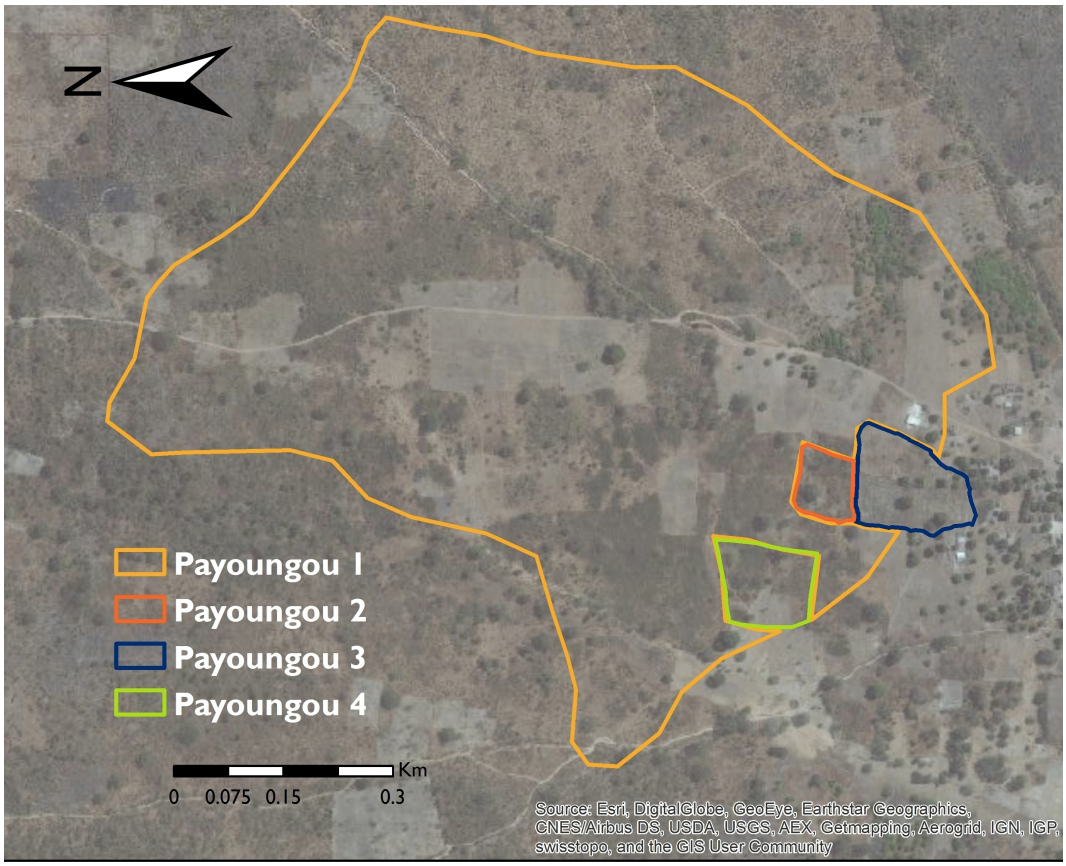


Fig. 6.10 Payoungou's pottery collection zones. Basemap: ©2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

For recording purposes, the site was divided into four distinct areas of pottery collection, following the elders' initial classification of the site:

Table 6.1: Pottery collection areas in Payoungou

Name	Code	Description	Size	Surface finds
Payoungou 1	UC-24	Older *tumbu*	66ha	Late Kaabu/Fulaadu pottery and smoking pipes
Payoungou 2	UC-34	Interior of smaller *tata*	70x60m	
Payoungou 3	UC-35	Recent *tumbu*	1.8 ha	
Payoungou 4	UC-36	Interior of larger *tata*	90x80m	Early Kaabu and Late Kaabu/Fulaadu pottery

This classification proved to be problematic, as on subsequent visits and during the excavation, it became clear that there were substantial disagreements among the elders regarding the particular contours and locations of each of the zones; but the separation was kept as a way of assessing whether different areas of the site had different ceramic signatures, and whether those corresponded in any way to the subsurface results. As discussed in Ch.8, the results of this comparison were largely negative. Furthermore, a more detailed and plural assessment of local traditions, showed how the local conceptualisation of the site included in fact seven distinct areas:

Recent village (UC-35)

This is an area of 1.8 ha, immediately north of the current village and west of the health centre, where the elders claim the village was located prior to its move to the current location during Dianke Wali's time (1900(?)-1960s). It is all now cultivated and thoroughly fenced. Although some pottery was visible on the surface from outside, we could not collect it as the owner of the field was absent and we could not obtain his permission to survey it.

Tataji

The number and location of the *tataji* was one of the areas of greater controversy among the elders in Payoungou. The first *tata* that was shown to us (UC-34), was traceable on the ground in certain parts, as a slight elevation and a much more clayey texture to the soil. Nevertheless, the dense vegetation and substantial amounts of termite activity in the area made difficult to assess whether the clay accumulations were anthropogenic. According to the elders, the *tata* had belonged to a king by the name of Kankuaji Sane, and the area had been left uncultivated because 'one cannot cultivate where battles have taken place' (fieldnotes).

The second supposed *tata* shown to us (UC-36) was far richer in surface pottery (as a change in a seasonal stream had created a small gully and exposed pottery in the process), but its wall foundations were not traceable. The perimeter defined by the elders was larger than the first one (90x80m), and the structure was said to be associated with the rulers Seriba Sane and Yerikuntu Ba Sane (Late Kaabu). The existence of this second *tata* was disputed by one of the elders, Payoungou Seydi, who said he had only heard of one *tata* (the first one, UC-34), and that it was that one where Yerikuntu Ba Sane lived (Int. 32). Adding to the debate about the number of *tataji,* Jean Girard (1964) mentions not one or two, but three different *tataji* in Payoungou, but unfortunately gives no other information about them. In any case, both of the *tataji* indicated by the elders are in the same part tof the site (about 50m from each other), in what all elders agree was the 'royal area' (fieldnotes, Int. 32). This area was at the centre of the town, separated from people's houses by the empty space of Wulufa Wulumba and Solindioyel (see below). Contrary to the town, which constantly moved, the *tataji* reportedly always stayed in the same place (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

Tamba Dibi

Located at the northern end of the archaeological site, this tree is, according to the Payoungou elders, the 'son' of the original *dyalan*, which grew from its seeds after the death of the latter. At the foot of the tree there used to be some stones for sacrifices (Moussa Sane, fieldnotes), but they are no longer present. Across the literature, Tamba Dibi is consistently identified as the most important and powerful *dyalan* of Kaabu, but as discussed in Ch. 3, multiple *dyalan* by the same name have been reported; Kansala, Kankelefa, and Payoungou being the most commonly cited

ones. Out of these three towns, Payoungou is unanimously recognised as the oldest, and therefore it is likely that its original Tamba Dibi was also the first *dyalan* of that name. The term Tamba Dibi is composed of two words: *tamba,* which is the local term for the gingerbread plum tree (*Neocarya macrophylla),* but also a type of spear used by Manding warriors (Park 1800, 549; Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 384); and *dibi,* meaning 'dark' or 'obscure' (Hoffman 1995, 41). The most important role of the Tamba Dibi was in the appointment Kaabu's *mansaba*. According to the elders in Payoungou, all three Tamba Dibi were involved in the process: the candidate had to first seek the approval of the Tamba Dibi in Payoungou, then that of Kankelefa, and finally the one in Kansala. The candidate would sit in the stones under the *dyalan* and after the necessary sacrifices were made, if the *dyalan* approved, rain would fall from the tree to bathe the future king (Girard 1992, 235; Ousmane Camara, Int. 16).

Additionally, the Tamba Dibi had other functions, as described in the griotic traditions collected by Sidibe (1972c, 3-4):

> 'Each state had its own fetish. The best known (i.e. the most powerful) was Tamba Dibbi, which belonged jointly to Pachana and Pachisi. Before the nyanchos took any important steps, they generally sacrificed fowls and wine to the fetish in order to find out what the prospects of success were. They looked at the kidneys of the sacrificed bird, and if both were light coloured, the sacrifice had been accepted. But if one kidney was dark coloured and the other light, it meant that the sacrifice was refused and that prospects for success were dim. On particularly desperate situations of war, they sometimes sacrificed a nyancho to the fetish, an honour for which young nyancho men actively contested. The man was not killed, but merely offered. A cock was killed to see whether the offer was accepted. If the fetish accepted him, he was sent into the very forefront of the battle, and he did not return'.

Fig. 6.11 Tamba Dibi in Payoungou

Dyalan Bantan

Located immediately to the west of the current village, the Dyalan Bantan[2] is no longer there, but its location and ritual roles are still well remembered. As with Tamba Dibi, there were other *dyalan* by the same name across Kaabu, the most commonly cited being Kabendou, Kankelefa, and Kansala (Int. 12, 16, & 32). The Dyalan Bantan at Payoungou is also mentioned by Girard (1992, 235), but he appears to confuse its functions with those of the Tamba Dibi. The Payoungou elders gave the following description of the rituals associated with the Dyalan Bantan:

> 'of all the *dyalan* in Kaabu, if you see that the *dyalan* in Payoungou is the oldest, that's because everything that was done in Kaabu, it was to this *dyalan* that all future events were consulted. When something was about to happen, according to the ancestors, a white vulture perched at the top the fromager. When people saw it, they told the elders. They said 'today a white vulture perched at the top of the fromager'. The elders then assembled and chose a young boy and a young girl which they sacrificed at the foot of the fromager. People then dispersed and the vulture came down to pierce the chest of the youths and took out the hearts, which it ate. Afterwards, it returned to the top of the tree to announce the events that were to come. Then it went away, only to return if a similar situation arose, and the same process ensued' (Malang Dourbaly Mané, Int. 16).

2 *Bantan* is the local name of the tree species *Ceiba Pentandra* or fromager.

Wulufa Wulumba :

This is a seasonal stream (now dry) which crosses the site's western half from east to west, separating the royal area from Solindioye. On its eastern end, it includes a lateritic outcrop, approximately 50m long, including a series of boulders located in close proximity to each other, some of which have polishing marks on top (see Fig. 6.13). Because the area is covered in tall grass, it is difficult to establish whether the boulders occur naturally or whether they have been arranged in a particular shape. According to the local elders, this is the place where the Payoungou *mansa* gave judgement and sentenced those accused of serious crimes, especially treason. Whenever somebody revealed a state secret in any of the territories of Kaabu, he was taken to Payoungou to be sentenced and executed at Wulufa Wulumba. In the case of traitors (those who had revealed a state secret), they were beaten to death with sticks, then buried at Solindioye (see below) (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32; fieldnotes).

Interestingly, Girard mentions and includes pictures of a place in Kansala called Toloberro, which looks similar to Wulufa Wulumba (a series of lateritic boulders, in close proximity, flat on the top) and is reported to have been also associated with royalty, as it was there that Kaabu's *mansaba* was crowned (Girard 1992, Plate 35-7)

Solin Dioiel

Named after a type of grass (*solin*) very common in the area, Solindioye is the area north of Wulufa Wulumba, which notionally separated the *tata* from the rest of the village (at least on its northern side, it is unclear whether that separation existed also on the southern end). Although the specific extent of Solindioye is not remembered, the elders have detailed traditions about the area's role as the place where both horses and traitors were buried. Having been killed at Wulufa Wulumba, traitors were dragged here and buried.

> 'How was the burial done? It was just taken there and thrown in the whole, as you bury horses. Because it's a lier, it's a dog, it's somebody who cannot keep a secret' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

As for horses, elders claim that 'in all the territory of Kaabu, the vultures didn't eat horse meat' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32). In other words, horses were deemed too important to be left in the open, and thus buried. An elder whose fields

are in the area reported frequently finding horse bones during cultivation, but this could not be verified.

Fig.6.12 Payougou elder showing where the king sat to pronounce sentence

Fig. 6.13 Polishing marks at Wulufa Wulumba

The *tumbu*

The rest of the site, north of Solindioye and south of the *tataji,* corresponded to the *tumbu* or abandoned settlement. According to the elders, the original Payoungou was located near Tamba Dibi, and progressively shifted south.

> 'If they settled in a place and there were a lot of deaths, they moved with a jump of a few metres. And never returned. The *tata* which I know never moved elsewhere. It was the people who moved towards and around the *tata*. The tata I know in Payoungou stayed in the same place. It was the village that moved from one place to another. This movement was constant. The elders told me so' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

6.6 Excavation

Methodology

The excavation methodology was the same for both Payoungou and Korop. In the absence of any prior archaeological information about the site, I chose a judgemental approach for determining the placement of excavation units, based on criteria of geographical spread across the site, associated oral traditions, and surface evidence. Although the possibility of using a simple or stratified random sampling strategy was considered, it was ruled out due to the substantial risk of coming across sterile areas in the context of limited time and resources. Despite its potentially less representative nature, a judgemental approach offered two significant advantages: first, it could be easily adapted as new information – whether archaeological or from oral traditions – became available, and as new parts of the site became open to excavation as a result of harvests and bush fires. The overall strategy was in fact reassessed before the opening of every new unit to incorporate the information obtained in the previous one. Secondly, this constant updating, together with the flexibility and discretion characteristic of a judgemental strategy, meant that the chances of wasting time on sterile units were minimised.

Focusing on quantitative data output at the expense of a potential loss of representativity was therefore a conscious choice, dictated by the lack of prior information about the site and by the need to obtain a substantial sample for analysis with limited time and resources. Within this framework, however, efforts were made to minimise the impact of the different biases by combining a diversity of geographical, historical, and archaeological criteria, which will be discussed in the context of each individual unit.

The second key strategical choice had to do with unit size. The size chosen

was 2x3m, as it was deemed to be the smallest size allowing contextual interpretation of deposits. In exceptional cases, units were extended to follow features of particular interest, such as pits or burials. Other possibilities, such as 1x1 m units, coring, or a programme of shovel tests were considered but eventually discarded. The problem with these smaller options was two-fold: first, they would have provided very little contextual information about the nature of the deposits, making it very difficult to interpret any stratigraphy in the absence of prior archaeological knowledge about the region. Secondly, neither 1x1m units nor test pits would have provided enough sherds to be confidently dated. As discussed in Ch.8, the very gradual nature of change in post-13th C ceramics means that dating had to be based mostly on proportions rather than on presence or absence of features. These strategies would have therefore been time-intensive but not very informative, as they would have allowed to establish which areas had been occupied, but not when or what the nature of the occupation was.

Deposits were excavated with local hand-held mattocks/hoes (*dabas*), trowels, and brushes, following stratigraphic layers. All excavated sediment (except for soil samples) was sifted through a 1cm-mesh screen (or 2mm in the case of ashy deposits). All faunal remains were collected, and soil samples for archaeobotanical remains were taken from deposits rich in ash and charcoal. All artefacts collected during both excavation and sieving were bagged and labelled on site. Recording procedures included the full documentation of the nature of each individual context (soil type, texture, colour, inclusions, sketch, finds, description, levels), as well as general and detailed photographs both before and after excavation. Accurate top plans were also drawn for all features.

To clarify the terminology employed, 'context' is used to refer to units of excavation. Whenever possible, these corresponded to past single actions that left an imprint, whether positive (wall) or negative (cut) in the archaeological record. Context designations thus refer mostly to depositional layers, or to features such as pits. However in some cases (as explained in the text) context designations refer simply to an arbitrary unit of excavation - such as a 10cm spit of excavated deposit across a designated area - when other soil changes could not be differentiated. It should also be noted that whenever a feature or deposit exceeded 30cm, or when there were any doubts about its limits, excavation was split into separate contexts to make sure any aspects missed during excavation could be reconstructed later. Contexts therefore constitute units of excavation and recording, not of analysis. For

analysis and dating, contexts were grouped into context aggregates, representing single archaeological events (e.g. a pit or living surface). Harris Matrices for each of the units can be found in Appendix D.

Table 6.2 Temporal divisions used and defining traits

Period	Dates	Defining traits
Fulaadu[3]	19th C	Presence of 19th C beads and European ceramics Presence of gin bottle fragments Presence of smoking pipes Presence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: incised and punctate decors
Late Kaabu	16th-18th C	Presence of smoking pipes Abundance of *Galet Rouge* beads[4] Presence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: incised and punctate decors Relevant C14 dates
Early Kaabu	13th-15th C	Absence of smoking pipes Absence of post 15th C imports Absence of flint lock gun parts Relevant C14 dates
Pre-Kaabu	pre-13th C	Absence of smoking pipes Absence of post 15th C imports Absence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: OGW Relevant C14 dates

These context aggregates were then aligned with other contemporary aggregates in the same unit to form horizons (for example, a horizon would represent a house, its yard, and associated hearths or pits). Horizons were then assigned to dated periods. Given the distance and lack of connectedness between sampled deposits, it was decided to name horizons separately for each unit, and to

3 'Fulaadu' is used here in the broadest possible sense, to refer to the period from the beginning of Kaabu's decomposition to the onset of full colonial rule, rather than only to the period in which the Fulaadu existed as a well-defined state (i.e. 1860s-1900s).

4 In the absence of any other dating factors, the presence of Galet Rouge is understood as characteristic of Late Kaabu, for although their manufacture is dated between the 17th C and the early 19th C, the abundant presence of a speo tails in them (method abandoned after 1817), and Gijanto's (2011b) observation that they were most popular in what she calls Atlantic trade period 1 (or height of the Atlantic trade) suggest a Late Kaabu dating is most likely.

assign them to four broad historical periods (Pre-Kaabu, Early Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaadu) in order to facilitate comparison between different units and sites. Although roughly based on known historical changes, the specific dates for the split between periods were dictated by practical reasons: the presence of objects or materials that enabled their identification, listed in Table 6.2.

Summary of results

Two seasons of excavations were undertaken at Payoungou: the first one in February and March 2013, in which units A and B were excavated; and a second one later in the year, from October to December, which focused on the excavation of five more units (see Fig. 6.14 for unit locations). Thus, a total of seven units was excavated, ranging from 2x3m to 2x4m, covering a total excavated area of 46m^2. The excavations were directed by myself with the assistance of Thierry Baldé, from the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, and uncovered a variety of occupational deposits from the 7th C to the 19th C AD. Most units included only one or two occupation horizons, and deposits were always less than a meter deep, with the exception of two rubbish pits in units E and F (which had 108 and 260cm of deposits, respectively). All units except for PYG-D had features in them, the most common being rubbish pits (5), followed by coursed earth walls (3), the remains of a furnace, and a burial. Following fieldwork, five charcoal samples from Payoungou, all from wood charcoal, were submitted to Beta Analytic to be dated. Four of them were dated though conventional radiometric methods, and one (PYG-C) through AMS, as the size of the sample was not enough for conventional analysis. Only samples from contexts without smoking pipes or other post-16th C materials were selected, for two main reasons: first, because these units could be dated through their small finds, and secondly, to avoid the problems associated with 17th-19th C dates, which tend to span the entire range of the last 250-300 years. Out of the five samples sent, four came back with useful dates with calibrated dates in ranges between 20 and 120 years. The fourth one only provided a post-17th C date. The samples and their dates are detailed in Table 6.13, and additional *terminus post quem* dates provided by European imports are listed in Table 6.5.

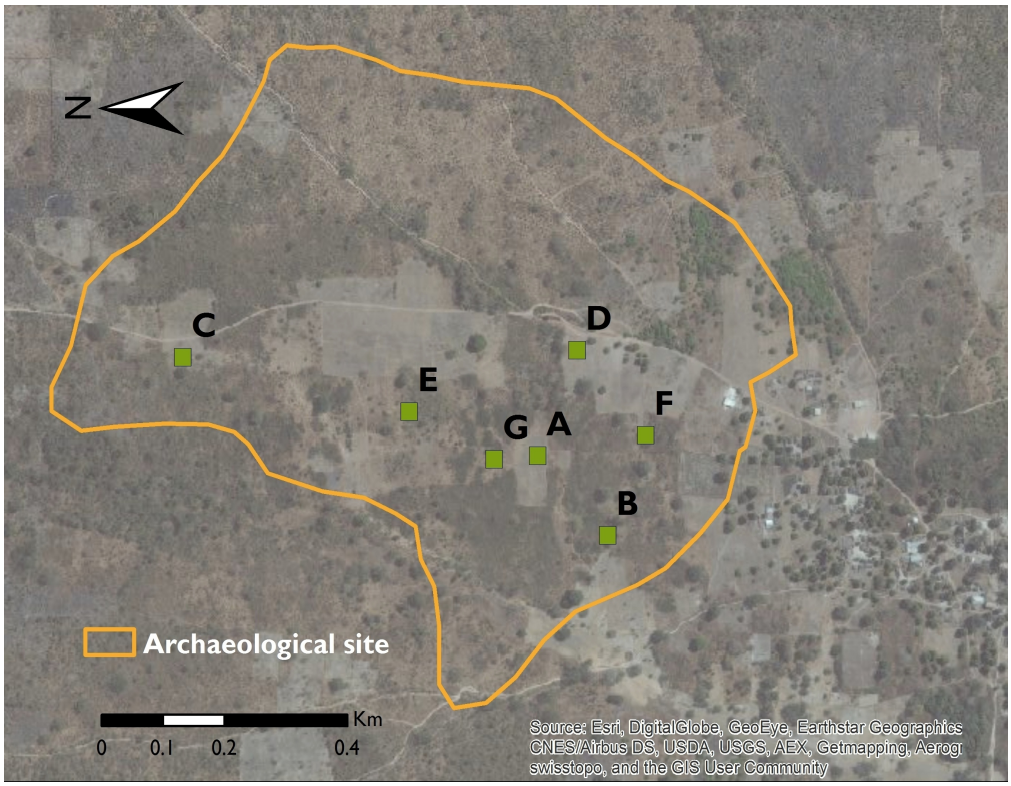


Fig.6.14 Excavated units in Payoungou (units not to scale). Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, Digital Globe

Table 6.3 C14 dates for Payoungou

Context	C14 date	Lab number	1 Sigma Cal.	Material
PYG-A 16	1390±30 bp	Beta-348214	AD 620-650	Wood charcoal
PYG- A 9	920±30 bp	Beta-350837	AD 1040-1160	Wood charcoal
PYG-B 10	250±30 bp	Beta-349385	AD 1640-1660	Wood charcoal
PYG-C 3	100±30 bp	Beta-374191	AD 1690-1730 AD 1810-1920 Post AD 1950	Wood charcoal
PYG-C 15	1280±30 bp	Beta-374192	AD 675-780 AD 790-870	Wood charcoal

*Table 6.4 Excavated units in Payoungou. * Indicates a rubbish pit*

Unit	Dimensions	Depth	Features present	Periods
PYG-A	2x3m	68-72cm	Furnace	Fulaadu Early Kaabu Pre-Kaabu
PYG-B	2x3m	44-49cm	Refuse pit	Fulaadu Late Kaabu
PYG-C	2x3m	60-66cm	Wall?	Late Kaabu Pre-Kaabu
PYG-D	2x3m	34cm		Post-13th C Pre-Kaabu
PYG-E	2x4m	40-111*cm	Coursed earth wall, refuse pit	Late Kaabu Pre-Kaabu
PYG-F	2x3m	50-266*cm	Two refuse pits	Fulaadu Late Kaabu
PYG-G	2x4m	35-58*cm	Coursed earth walls, pit, burial	Late Kaabu

Table 6.5 Datable small finds from Payoungou (excluding smoking pipes)

Context	SF#	Description	Date
PYG B-2	24a	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG B-2	24b	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG B-2	24c	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG B-2	25	Glass bead (Bohemian)	19th C
PYG B-4	29	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG B-5	30	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG B-4	31	Alkaline-glazed stone ware	Late 18th-20th C
PYG B-6	34	Alkaline-glazed stone ware	Late 18th-20th C
PYG F-2	112	Musket fragment	Post mid 18th C
PYG F-3	120	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-8	131	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-9	137	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-10	141	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-14	150	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-14	147	Gun part	Post mid 18th C
PYG F-19	160	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG F-29	203	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG G-3	176	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	18th C
PYG G-3	193	Westerwald stoneware	17th-19th C
PYG G-6	196	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C
PYG G-13	207	Glass bead (*Galet Rouge*)	17th-19th C

Payoungou A

The first unit excavated at Payoungou, was a 2x3m rectangle located in the area of the site identified by the elders as Solindioye, 100m west of the lateritic outcrop, and 40m north of the Wulufa Wulumba stream (12º43'21.43", -14º03'55.83"). This area was initially chosen because of its central location, on a rise of potentially anthropogenic nature, and on a field with substantial amounts of both pottery and slag. The excavation at PYG-A recorded c.70cm of deposits divided into three main horizons:

Table 6.6 Horizons in PYG-A

PYG-A			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Fulaadu	C	**1.-** Surface clearing	2
		2.- Topsoil.	10
		3.- Living surface.	21
		4.- Burrow.	24
Early Kaabu	B	**5, 7, 9.-** Living surface.	43
		6, 8,10.- Burrows.	44
Pre-Kaabu	A	**11-13.-** Fill surrounding the furnace.	54
		12, 14.-Furnace	53
		15,16.- Transition to sterile below the furnace.	72

Horizon A: Pre-Kaabu iron production area

This horizon accounted for the lowest 30cm of deposits, and contained the earliest cultural activity found in Payoungou so far, as established by an AD 620-650 C14 date (Beta-348214) from the first context above sterile. Its only feature was a semi-circular structure made of coursed earth and slag with a concave base and a diameter of c. 50cm (see Fig. 6.15), on the southwest corner of the unit. The structure was sitting right on top of sterile soil and did not show any evidence of vitrification or of having undergone high-temperature firing. Its base included two tuyere moulds and was consequently interpreted as a section of a furnace shaft (Campos 2014, 38). The sediment surrounding the furnace was very compact, as was that of the rest of the horizon. No pottery, glass or small finds were found; slag was the only material present (a total of 23kg were recovered from this unit) and it

appeared scattered throughout, rather than in clusters. The area immediately north of the furnace presented some pieces of burnt clay, probably resulting from the collapse of the upper part of the furnace.

A study of seven specimens of slag from this unit undertaken by Lina Campos (2014), identified two furnace bottom slags, one pit lining slag, three tap slags, and one tuyere mould slag. The latter was still attached to a fragment of tuyere, with an approximate external and internal diameter of 10cm and 7cm, respectively. Two tuyere mould slags from context 14 presented a narrower internal diameter (between 3 and 4cm), but this difference could be due to changing widths at different ends of the tuyere. The analysis of the internal structure and composition of the fragment from context 10 revealed that the slag had solidified slowly inside the tuyere at a temperature where the silica content did not reach the lowest melting point (Campos 2014, 30). All of the specimens analysed were the product of smelting, rather than smithing, and all but one had a consistent Reducible Iron Index (RII) between 2 and 2.3, indicating optimal reducing conditions characteristic of efficient bloomery. Although some of these specimens came from horizons B and C, the consistency in composition and internal structure with the samples from horizon A would indicate they were part of the same industrial tradition.

Fig.6.15 Furnace at PYG-A, Horizon A Left: top; Right: bottom.

Fig. 6.16 On the left, slag attached to a fragment of tuyere (PYG-A c. 10). On the right, two tuyere slag moulds from PYG A-14. Adapted from Campos 2014.

Horizon B: Early Kaabu

The transition from Horizon A to B produced a radiocarbon date of AD 1040-1160 (Beta-350837), and was marked by the appearance of pottery and a notable decrease in slag. Horizon B retained some of the compactness of the deposits in horizon A, but became gradually less compact as it approached horizon C.

Horizon C: Fulaadu

Horizon C included the topsoil and the contexts affected by agricultural disturbance, characterised by much looser and homogeneous sediment. The topsoil (c.2), included substantial amounts of material culture, including pottery, slag, one fragment of smoking pipe (SF #20), a small fragment of concave striated bronze (SF# 19), and a broken base of a 19th C case gin bottle. A small chert scraper (SF#250) was also found, but it was probably intrusive.

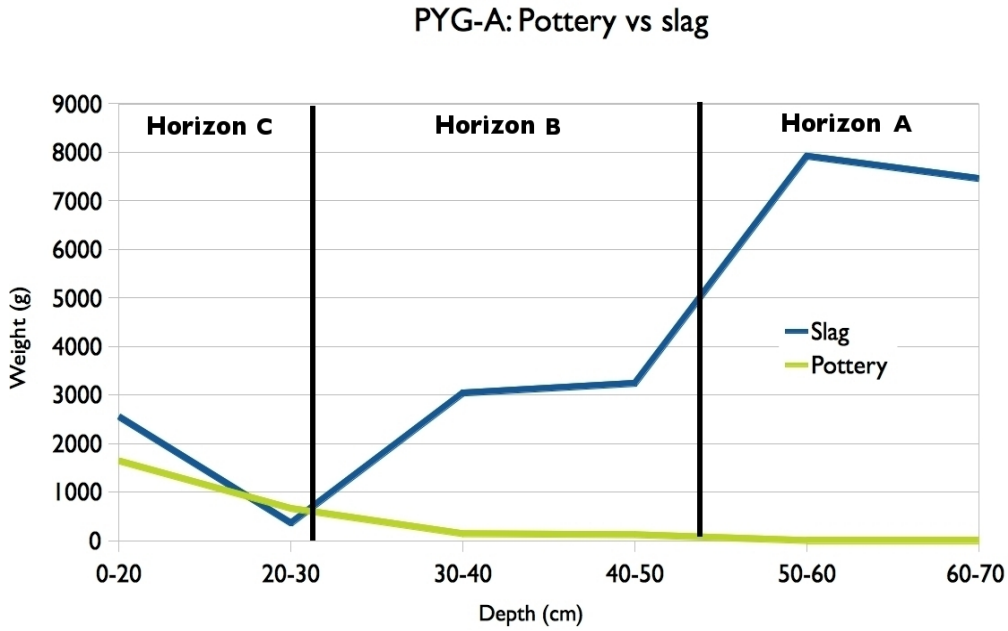


Fig.6.17 Quantities of slag and pottery in the different horizons in PYG-A

Overview

PYG-A is unique in two ways: it contains the oldest evidence so far for occupation in Payoungou (AD 620-650); and it is the only industrial area encountered during excavation. The furnace in horizon A thus pre-dates the Manding arrival and the establishment of Kaabu, belonging to what oral traditions call the Bainouk period (or more precisely, the 'Bainouk rule', *lammu bainoukobe)*. Unfortunately, at present we have no historical confirmation of who the inhabitants of the region were before the arrival of the Manding and the establishment of Kaabu. Their furnace building techniques, however, are consistent with those documented for the same period in the Senegal Valley (cf. Bocoum 1995, 145).

This area is located less than a 100m away from a lateritic outcrop (which elsewhere in the region were documented as iron ore sources), and would have therefore been a convenient location for an iron-producing area. At present it is difficult to establish if this area was located inside or outside the inhabited part of the site, but if it was outside, it was not too distant from it, as units PYG-D and PYG-E (both of which had evidence of pre-Kaabu occupation) were less than 170m and 215m away, respectively.

At some point around the 11th C, however, iron production stopped, and pottery started appearing. Although slag is present –albeit in decreasing numbers–

throughout horizon B, it is probably intrusive, rather than representing a continuity of iron production in this period. Three elements suggest so: first, excluding horizon C (which contains mixed deposits resulting from modern cultivation) and context 9 (which was sitting right on top of the furnace), the overall quantities of slag are very small (>1kg) when compared to lower horizons. Secondly, horizon B (and in particular contexts 5-7) were full of burrows. Finally, Campos' metallurgical study showed that slag throughout the unit was remarkably alike in terms of its technical characteristics, indicating a similar or even identical technical tradition, which is unlikely over such a long and changing period.

Whether the end of iron production and the appearance of pottery were two consecutive events, or whether they were separated by a period of abandonment, cannot be stated given the degree of animal disturbance in the upper horizons. What is clear is that the intensity of human activity in the area substantially decreased from then on, as indicated by the absence of features or structures and the overall decline in material culture. The evidence for horizons B and C is thus consistent with an open space inside or near, the settlement, which supports the local traditions' identification of this area as Solindioye, an empty 'buffer zone' between the *tata* and the village. As for the periods in which this open space was used, the total absence of smoking pipes in horizon B suggests an Early Kaabu occupation whereas in the case of horizon C, the presence of both smoking pipes and 19th C European imports indicates a Fulaadu date.

Payoungou B

The second unit was placed 160m to the southwest of PYG-A (12º43'17.72", -14º03'59.76), in the area described by local elders as the 'great *tata',* associated with Kaabu's rulers. The same size as the first unit (2x3m), this was from the beginning a drastically different excavation. Not only was pottery more abundant, but so were small finds in general, and beads and smoking pipes in particular. Although pieces of slag occasionally occurred, it was on a much smaller scale (1.91kg in total). In the 50 cm before sterile soil, the main feature encountered was a midden in the west end of the unit (horizon B), with substantial amounts of pottery, animal bones, charcoal, and ash. A C14 date of Cal AD 1640 -1660 (Beta-349385) was obtained from the last context before sterile soil.

Table 6.7 PYG-B horizons

PYG-B			
Period	**Horizon**	**Contexts Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm**
Fulaadu	B	**1.**-Surface clearing	2
		2.- Topsoil.	10
		3.- Termite disturbances.	21
		4-5.- Living surface on top of ash layer.	30
Late Kaabu	A	**6,9 .-** Midden fill.	43
		7,8,10,11.-Deposits surrounding the midden.	49

Horizon A: midden (17th-18th C)

The earliest 20cm of deposits immediately above sterile soil included a midden. The midden was located in the western third of the unit, going into both the S and W sections. The 9m^2 of midden inside the unit contained 5kg of pottery, 1.7kg of animal bones, and 550g of slag, as well as 5 smoking pipe fragments, a bone bead (#94) and a piece of alkaline glazed stoneware (SF#34). A charcoal sample from the bottom of the horizon provided a C14 date of Cal AD 1640-1660. Although ash and charcoal were present throughout, the greatest ash concentration was at the very top of the midden, at the interface with horizon B. The deposits that had built up around the midden included some pottery, limited amounts of bone and slag, as well as four smoking pipe fragments.

Horizon B: agricultural disturbance and post-midden accumulation (19th C).

This horizon included the top 30cm of deposits, accumulated on top of the midden. The deposits immediately on top of the midden were characterised by a dark and loose sediment with charcoal inclusions and a substantial amount of material culture, including 44 smoking pipe fragments, a piece of alkaline glazed stone ware (SF #31), one carnelian bead (SF#25), and six glass beads (SF#24-6,30), as well as pottery and limited quantities of animal bone and glass. No structures or features were encountered. As the unit was on a partially terraced slope used for rice cultivation, the layer of agricultural disturbance was larger (5-20cm) than in other units.

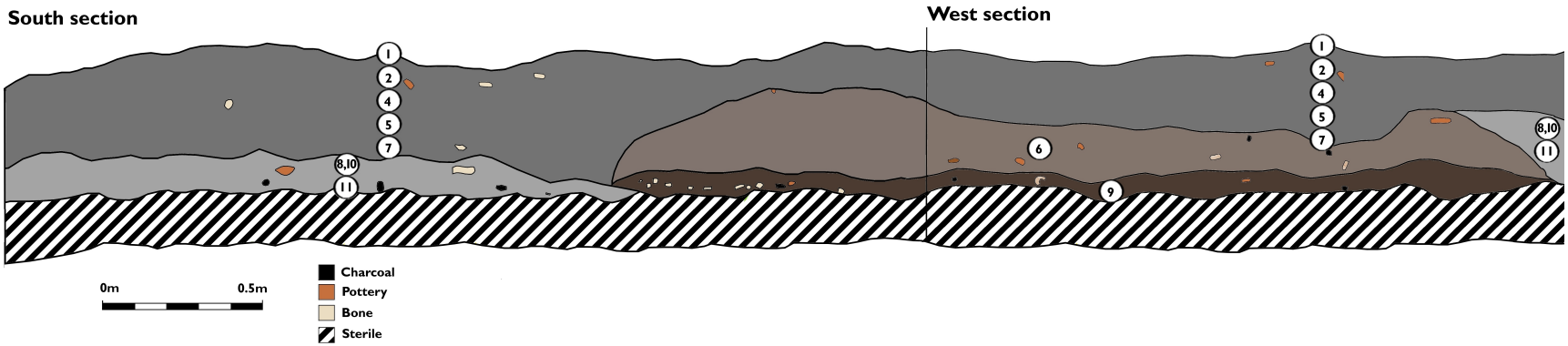


Fig.6.18 South and West sections in PYG-B, showing the midden

PYG-B Overview

Contrary to many other excavated units, occupation in this area of the site only begins to be evidenced in the late 17th C, as indicated by both the C14 date and the chronologically diagnostic finds. The main feature of this occupation was a midden containing domestic refuse. Although only 20cm high, the midden's deposits appear to have built up over a period of at least 100 years, as its bottom part is contemporary with the C14 date, while the upper layer contains one fragment of alkaline-glazed stoneware whose production is no earlier than the 18th C (South 1971). Alternatively, as it is only one sherd, and it is quite similar to one found in horizon B, it could also be intrusive. In any case, there is a substantial amount of continuity in this unit between horizons A and B, particularly in the pottery and the nature of the sediment matrix. This last horizon, however, is much richer in European imports, particularly beads and glass containers, as well as in smoking pipes, suggesting a change in either the status or the contact networks of the occupants, which would match the elders identification of this part of the site as a royal area.

Payoungou C

This unit was located as far north as there was visible surface pottery, approximately 370m south of Tamba Dibi (12°43'40.12", -014°03'50.90"), in order to test the claim by local elders that this was the original location of the village. Also 2x3m in area, it included two main horizons:

Table 6.8 PYG-C horizons

PYG-C			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max depth (cm)**
Late-Kaabu /Fulaadu	C	**1.-** Surface clearing	1
		2.- Topsoil.	8
		3,4,6.- Living surface	31
		5.-Decayed root.	29
Pre-Kaabu	B	**7, 9,10, 12-14.-** Living surface.	57
		11.-Charcoal pocket.	41
		8.- Putative posthole fill	57
		15.- Coursed earth, possible structure.	66
		16.-Burnt coursed earth concentrations.	66

Horizon A (7th-8th C)

The first 40cm of deposits were characterised by a marked change in pottery, from the sort of wares encountered so far to Orange Gritty Ware (see Ch.8 for description). No small finds were recovered, except for a small piece of green glass from context 12, which could be intrusive, as it was located near a burrow. The presence of burrows and roots constantly releasing water made for bad preservation of remains and difficult interpretation, but charcoal concentrations, potential post-holes, and pieces of degraded coursed earth suggest some sort of structure might have been present. A charcoal sample from the last context above sterile provided a date of Cal. AD 690-775.

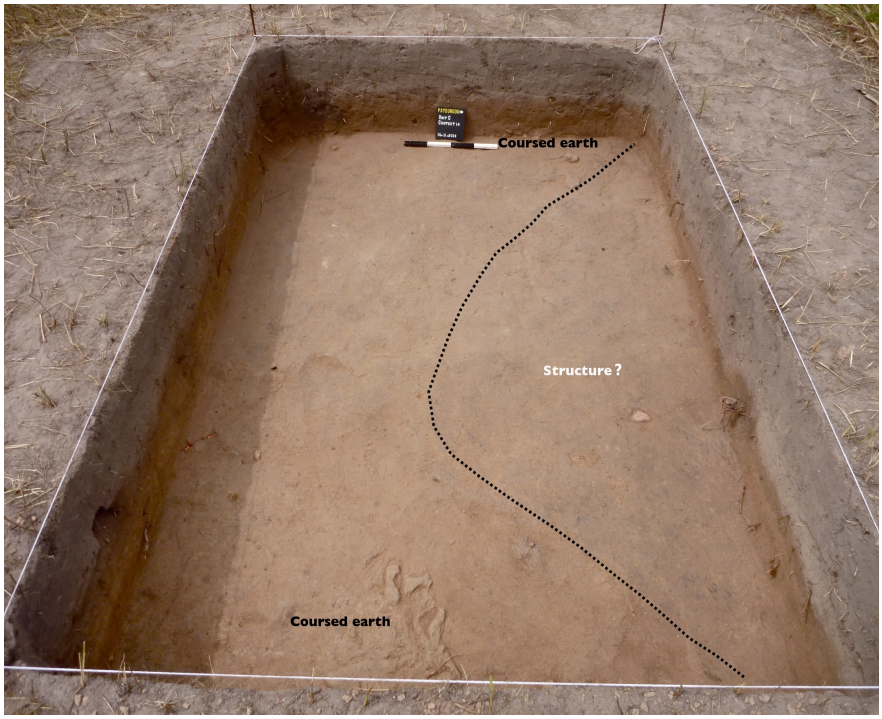


Fig.6.19 Horizon A in PYG-C with possible structure

Horizon B (18thC)

Top 30cm of deposits. Characterised by a variety of glass, pottery, slag, bone, and small finds, including a fragment of a brass and iron bracelet (SF#99). No structures or features present. A charcoal sample from the middle of the horizon provided a C14 date of post-1690 AD (Beta--374191), and none of the material culture encountered had 19th C traits.

PYG-C Overview

PYG-C included the second oldest occupation of the site, and the oldest with associated pottery (orange gritty ware), thus supporting the elders' claims that the oldest part of the site was located at the north of the *tumbu,* near Tamba Dibi. It is unclear when this first occupation was abandoned, as there are no clear abandonment layers despite the clear temporal gap in the material culture and the C14 dates between the two horizons. Nevertheless, despite being confirmed as a 18th C occupation by both the C14 date and the nature of the pottery, horizon B is unusual for this period in that it does not contain any beads or smoking pipes, which is interesting, as this also happens to be the part of the site most distant from what oral traditions consider the royal area.

Payoungou D

Unit D was located immediately south of the lateritic outcrop at the centre of the site, less than 70m away from the stones where elders say the king used to sit to pass judgement (12° 43' 21.25", -14°03'50.98"). The location was chosen because of its proximity to the outcrop, but also because contrary to PYG-A, PYG-B, and PYG-C, it was not cultivated. Unfortunately, this criterion proved to be wrong, as the surface clearing revealed that it had been cultivated in the past. PYG-D was closed without having reached sterile after 34 cm of deposits due to the absence of features and the scarcity of material culture. The only traces of human activity found were pockets of charcoal and 240g of pottery. Despite the small sample, the ceramic sequence presented a very clear evolution, very similar to that of PYG-C: while the lower horizon (A) was entirely composed of OGW, the upper one (B) presented a standard Kaabu/Fulaadu set of pottery with two sherds of OGW. While the presence of OGW makes the dating of horizon A clear, that of horizon B can only be described as post-13th C, as the sample is too small to make any judgement on the basis of absences, and there are no period-diagnostic objects present.

Table 6.9 PYG-D horizons

PYG-D			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Post-13th C	B	**1.-** Surface clearing	1
		2.- Topsoil	13
Pre-Kaabu	A	**3.-** Charcoal pocket.	25
		4.- Living surface	34

Payoungou E

Approximately 215m north of PYG-A, and 360 m southeast of PYG-C (12°43'28.1640", -14°03'53.6040"), this unit was located in an area of the site which for which no oral traditions existed but which presented substantial amounts of surface pottery. Initially 2x3 m, the unit was extended an extra metre on the eastern side after the appearance of a rubbish pit next to the section. Despite the shallowness of its deposits (35cm generally, 100cm in the pit), PYG-E presented a more complex stratigraphy than any other unit in the site, with four different horizons of occupation:

Table 6.10 PYG-E horizons

PYG-E			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
?	D	**1, 14.-** Surface clearing	2
		2,3,15.- Topsoil.	9
		4.- Termite disturbances.	10
Late Kaabu	C	**10,11,13,17,19, 21 23, 24, 25.-** Rubbish pit fill	111
	B	**5.-** Definition of a coursed earth wall.	21
		9.- Coursed earth wall.	19
		7, 16.- Living surface enclosed by the wall.	31
Pre-Kaabu	A	**6,8,18,20,22.-** Living surfaces	34-47

Horizon A: pre-13th C

This horizon comprised the 15cm of deposits sitting right on top of the sterile soil. It did not include any trace of structures or features, and the only material culture found was a small amount of OGW ceramics.

Horizon B: coursed earth structure (16th-18th C)

This horizon was characterised by dark loose deposits, with frequent pottery, and occasional charcoal and animal bone; small finds consisted of three fragments of smoking pipes. Its main and only feature was a curved coursed earth wall, starting on the E section, and stopping 80cm before the western one (see Fig. 6.20). Only the foundations were present (<10cm), and on its eastern end the wall had been disturbed by the digging and subsequent filling of the rubbish pit (Horizon C). There was no difference in the nature of the finds and deposits between the exterior (south) and the interior (north) of the structure.

Fig.6.20 Wall in PYG-E, Horizon B

Horizon C: rubbish pit (16th-18th C)

Located in the SE corner of the unit and going into both the S and E sections, the excavated area of the pit measured 1.20x0.8m at the base and 1.40x-1.20m at the top, and was round in shape. It had cut through both Horizon A, Horizon B, and sterile soil, and at its maximum depth it measured 90cm from top to

base. Its base was flat, and the eastern section (which was not as affected by animal burrows as the southern one) clearly reflected (particularly in its most humid areas) three distinct burning events, located at 10, 35, and 60cm from its base, respectively (see Fig. 6.21). Unfortunately, these were not visible/detected during excavation, as the sediment filling the pit appeared to be homogeneous throughout. What did change, however, were its contents and inclusions: while the lower layers had well preserved animal bone and large pottery sherds and pieces of charcoal; the upper ones were characterised by fragmentary pottery, very poorly preserved animal bone, and small charcoal fragments.

Horizon D: post 16th C

The top 10cm of the excavation represent the sediment that accumulated after the closure of the pit. It included no diagnostic objects, structures, or features and was heavily disturbed by cultivation.

Fig.6.21 Rubbish pit in PYG-E, horizon C.

PYG-E Overview

This unit provided very useful information at a variety of levels. First of all, it has four horizons of occupation, which is the most any unit had either in Payoungou or in Korop. The appearance of OGW (which as discussed in Ch.8 is characteristic of the Pre-Kaabu period) in horizon A indicates a pre-Kaabu occupation in or around this part of the site, which can be added to those already documented for PYG-C and PYG-D. The area was then reoccupied after the 16th (horizon B), with the construction of a coursed earth wall, whose function could not be determined due to the limited size of the unit and the lack of finds or associated structures that could assist in its interpretation.

After the abandonment of the wall (at some point between the 16th and 18th C) a rubbish pit was dug, cutting across the eastern end of the former wall. This pit is particularly interesting, because contrary to those at PYG-B and PYG-F (located in what the elders claim were the royal areas), the material culture in PYG-E's pit was poor, not just in quantity but also in quality: not one trace of glass, of European imports, jewellery, or gun parts was found, and the amount of smoking pipes was also significantly lower. Regarding the timing of the pit's filling, both its top and bottom contexts had smoking pipes in them, indicating that both the digging and the filling occurred after the 16th. The change in the nature of the finds, together with the presence of three burnt layers in the section, suggests that its filling consisted of at least of three separate events, but how spread-out in time those were is difficult to establish.

Payoungou F

Located just east of the small *tata,* in the area where the canon was reportedly found (12°43'15.7080", -14°03'54.7920"), this unit measured 2x3 and reached the greatest depth of any unit in the site (2.66m of deposits in the eastern pit). Although currently densely vegetated, surface clearing revealed furrows indicating past cultivation.

Table 6.11 PYG-F horizons

PYG-F			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Fulaadu	C	**1.-** Surface clearing	1
		2.- Topsoil.	17
		3,5.- Living surface	26
		4.-Burrow.	25
	B	**6,7.-** Compact floor surface	40
Late Kaabu	A	**8,9.-** Overflow between the two pits.	52
		14,16,18,20.- Western rubbish pit fill.	72
		10,11,13,15,19,23,24,25.-Eastern pit fill, dark grey layer.	113
		26,27,28,29,30.-Eastern pit fill, brown layer	218
		31,32, 33.- Eastern pit fill, orange layer.	266

Horizon A: Rubbish pits (16th-18th C)

On both the eastern and western sides of the unit, the sterile soil had been cut by two round rubbish pits, of different sizes and depths, extending beyond the unit into the west and north, and east and south, sections, respectively. The material culture in both pits indicated a 16th-18th C date, and at the top they had overflowed into one another, before the surface of horizon B was laid.

The western pit was 1.68m^2, and 30cm deep, except for the area next to the NW corner, which was 10cm deeper. The very bottom of the pit was characterised by a thick layer of charcoal followed by another one of ashy deposits (see Fig. 6.22), which doubled in thickness towards the northern end of the pit. In terms of finds, it contained pottery (4.98 kg), animal bone (2730kg), slag (700g), glass (50g), lateritic stones, and small finds, including brass and iron jewellery (SF#149,159,165), eight smoking pipe fragments, two glass beads (SF#131,137), and a gun part (SF#147), most of which concentrated in its upper contexts.

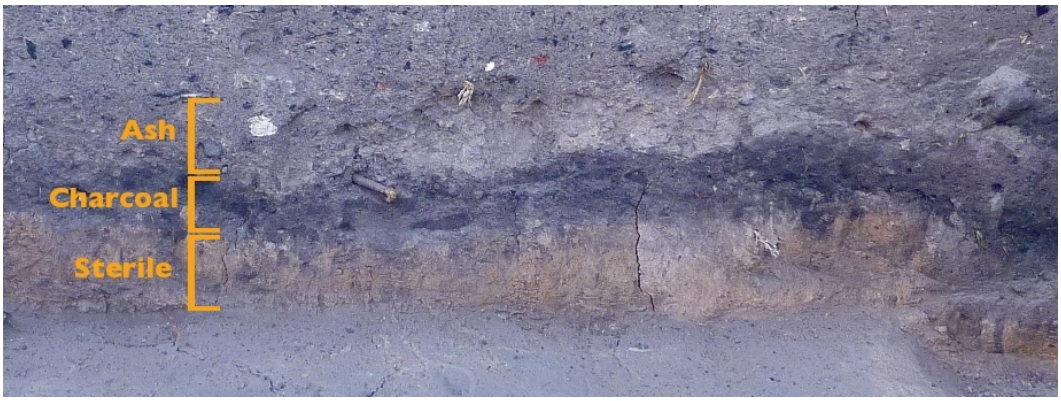


Fig 6.22 Bottom of the western pit in PYG-F, Horizon A

The eastern rubbish pit, on the other hand, was smaller in area (1.56m^2 at the top, progressively narrowing down towards the bottom), but much deeper (2.20m). It was composed of three clearly distinguishable layers: a bottom layer, transitional to sterile and orange on colour (30cm); a middle one, brown with large amounts of charcoal (80cm), and a top dark grey layer (110cm) (see Fig. 6.24). Unfortunately the first two were not split during excavation, and therefore had to be combined also in the analysis.

The orange and grey layers were characterised by thick deposits of charcoal, which appear as roughly parallel (but curved) lines on the section, but as concentric ones in the horizontal plane during excavation (see Fig. 6.25). The deposits were not horizontal, but inclined at an angle of approx. 40º towards the centre of the pit. These layers had less faunal remains than the top one (2.9kg), but over twice as much pottery (10.29kg). No glass was found, and only 10g of slag were present. In terms of small finds, they included 16 smoking pipes, and 3 glass beads (SF#177,190,203), which in combination indicated a 16th to 18th C date for the assemblage.

The top dark grey layer, on the other hand, was characterised by less and more scattered charcoal, and more glass (70g) and animal bone (3.3kg). In terms of small finds, it included 14 smoking pipes, 2 glass beads (SF#141,160) a broken sandstone hand scraper with traces of red ocher (SF#144), and an iron earring (SF#157).

Fig.6.23 Pits at PYG-F. Pre-and post-excavation

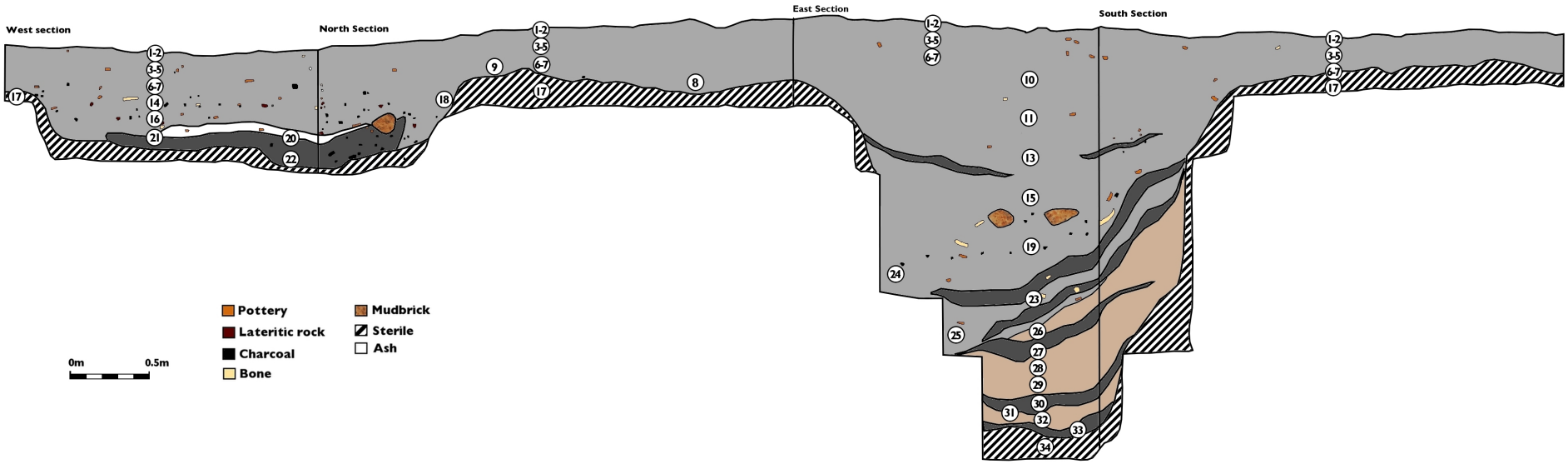


Fig.6.24 Section drawing from PYG-F with location of contexts

Fig.6.25 Eastern pit in PYG-F, horizon A

Horizon B: floor (19th C)

Horizon B was defined by a floor surface, made of compact earth with very small and fragmented pottery, glass, slag, charcoal, and bone inclusions, which was obvious during excavation, but did not leave any trace on the section.

Horizon C: open space (19th C)

The deposits on top of the floor in Horizon B, which accounted for the top 40cm deposits, included no features, structures or clear surfaces, and were characterised by a high density of finds: 150g of very fragmented animal bone, 40g of glass, 130g of slag, 5.69kg of pottery, as well as seven smoking pipe fragments, three glass beads (#111,123,126), a flint lock gun component (#112), and an iron bracelet fragment (#122).

PYG-F Overview

The excavation of PYG-F uncovered the deepest sequence of deposits of the whole project, although not the longest in chronological terms. The first occupation of the area consisted of two rubbish pits, both dug and filled after the 16th C (as indicated by the presence of smoking pipes) but probably before the 19th C (as suggested by the popularity of *galet rouge* beads). With the current 2x3m exposure, it is difficult to establish what the specific sequence was, whether one pit preceded the other –and if so which–, or whether they were contemporaneous. It also

remains unclear why one pit was so shallow in comparison to the other: did they stop digging the west pit half-way-through or was it intended to be that shallow? And in the first case, why did they stop? There was no apparent geological reason, no bedrock or more compact soil that could account for it. In terms of the timing of the filling, the east pit presents at least eight independent burning events, but the spacing of those events remains unclear. The fact that its earliest layers are much richer in charcoal and pottery, while the top one has more animal bone and glass, would indicate either a change in habits or in the use of the refuse pit. Additionally, both pits are amongst the richest in the site, not just in terms of quantity of finds, but also in quality: almost all bones are cattle (see Ch.9), and this unit has the largest quantity of glass and jewellery. All these elements taken together, fit (although not necessarily confirm) the elders' identification of this area as the empty space adjacent to a *tata* or royal residence.

After the pits were full – and in fact had overflowed into one another– either they were consciously covered with soil, or soil gradually accumulated, for about 10cm. This area then became a surface, and one with substantial transit, for that matter, as evidenced by the horizon of compactness and of fragmentation of the broken materials in it. At some point in the last two hundred years, however, this transit stopped, sediment accumulated, and the area became a field.

Payoungou G

Given the predominance of post-16th C horizons in the units so far, I decided to place this unit in the vicinity of PYG-A, which had given the earliest dates in the site. PYG-G was thus located in the opposite end of the PYG-A's field, 70m north of the first unit (12°43'23.70",-14°03'55.98"), also in the area which the elders call Solindioye. It was originally 2x3m, later expanded to 2x4m to accommodate for the discovery of a burial. It consisted of three main horizons:

Table 6.12 PYG-G horizons

PYG-G			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth(cm)**
Late Kaabu	C	**1,14.-** Surface clearing	3
		2,15.- Topsoil	13
	B	**12,13,20,21-** Burial pit fill.	49
		22.-Skeleton.	47
	A	**3, 4, 6-8, 11, 16-18 -**Living surface deposits.	45
		19.-Charcoal concentration	40
		5.- Wall melt in the SW corner.	20
		9.- Ash pocket in SW corner.	41
		10.- Coursed earth wall.	31
		23,24.- Refuse pit fill.	58

Horizon A: coursed earth wall and rubbish pit (16th-18th C)

The main architectural feature of this horizon was a 25cm-thick coursed earth wall, starting 18cm south of the N section (before the extension), and running south for 1.70m before turning into the E section. The southern end of the wall, however, had been heavily disturbed by a burrow. Under the wall, and marking its foundation, was a lateritic stone (see Fig. 6.26). There was also an accumulation of bricks/rammed earth near the south-west corner, but it did not appear to be part of a wider structure.

Throughout horizon A there were pockets of ash and charcoal. Against the N section of the extension was a crushed pot with charred animal bone and charcoal underneath. At the NE corner of the extension, and extending into both sections, we encountered a 35cm-deep refuse pit. Although most of the pit appeared to be beyond the section, the 40x100cm area inside the unit was different from the pits excavated so far in at least two respects: firstly, it was rectilinear rather than round; and secondly, its top layer was composed of approx. 5cm of compact rubble, including a lateritic stone, not encountered elsewhere. Its contents included substantial amounts of charcoal, 3 smoking pipe fragments, and limited amounts of pottery (110g), animal bone (30g), and slag (10g). The pit started at the level of the wall's foundation, which was marked by a layer of ash present discontinuously throughout the unit. This ashy layer most likely marked the surface of this

occupational horizon, but no floor was apparent. However, contrary to what would be expected, most of this horizon's finds were not concentrated near the surface but on the upper contexts. In addition to those found in the pit, they included pottery (3.8kg), animal bone (360g), glass (75g), shell, slag (465g), four glass beads (SF#176,194-6), eight smoking pipe fragments, a spindle whorl (SF#192), a Westerwald pottery sherd (SF#193), and a flint-lock gun fragment (SF#198).

Fig.6.26 Wall in PYG-G, horizon A, before and after excavation

Fig. 6.27 Rubbish pit in PYG-G, horizon A

Horizon B: burial pit (16th-18th C)

Starting 15cm under the current ground surface, the burial pit was 30cm deep, 2.15m long, and about 40cm wide. Its longest axis was oriented N-S, and it consisted of two main layers: a lower one, immediately on top of the body, consisting of 5-10cm of rubble (mostly broken mudbrick, lateritic pebbles and occasional pieces of slag); followed by less compact soil with occasional bone and pottery inclusions. Unfortunately this upper layer was not identified in the original excavation, as its northern limit coincided with that of the wall (se below), and thus excavated as part of horizon A. This, however, was rectified in the extension.

The buried individual was, according to the skeletal analysis undertaken by Jamie Inwood (see Annex F), a robust male between 50 and 56 years old, who suffered osteoarthritis, and who had lost all his teeth long before his death. The cause of death was established to be a frontal blow the head with a heavy, likely hafted object with an edge (e.g. an axe). Additionally, the left humerus had a *peri-mortem* complete fracture in the proximal end caused by a similar object (see Fig.6.29). There were also multiple other fractures, in the arms and chest, but it could not be confidently stated if they were peri- or post-mortem. Additionally, the individual had been buried face down, in a prone position consistent with pinioning of hands and feet anterior to the body. Although no grave goods were encountered, the bottom layer of the pit included a *galet rouge* bead (SF#207) from the area near the pelvis and a brass ring/earring found near the feet. Both however, were recovered from the sieve, rather than *in situ,* so their precise position cannot be established. Having lifted the skeleton, it became apparent that the pit continued below it, as the cut was still visible. Nevertheless, because of the premature closure of the unit due to a malaria outbreak in the team, it was not possible to reach the end of the pit, but judging by the compactness of the last deposits excavated, it seems likely sterile was close.

Fig.6.28 Burial and section showing the burial pit and the living surface it cut

Fig.6.29 PYG-B burial: skeleton

Horizon C: agricultural disturbance and sediment accumulation (16th -18th C)

Following the closure of the burial pit was a layer of approximately 10cm of mixed deposits, which included pottery, animal bone, glass, and slag, with quantities decreasing with depth. Five smoking pipe fragments were also found. This horizon was stratigraphically sitting on top of both horizon B (the burial pit) and horizon A (occupational deposits), but while the limits with the former were very clear (see Fig. 6.28) those with the latter were not. There was no clear change in the nature of deposits or in the finds in them, yet it is safe to assume the area would have already been abandoned by the time the burial pit was dug, especially given the violent nature of the death (see description below). The agricultural disturbance was here shallower than in the other units, limited to the top 5cm.

PYG-G Overview

Although the initial goal of this unit (finding evidence of early occupation) was not accomplished, PYG-G provided very useful information regarding the occupational sequence of the site and the relationship of archaeology to oral traditions. The first occupation of PYG-G post-dates the 16thC, as demonstrated by the abundance of smoking pipe fragments; and most likely predates the 19th C, as suggested by the fact that none of the European imports present was manufactured after that date. The presence of a wall, a rubbish pit, and areas of charcoal concentration associated with an *in situ* crushed pot, would indicate this was a living area at the time. Although the rubbish pit was rather poor in contents when compared to those of PYG-B or PYG-F, the upper layers of this occupational horizon contained several European imports (beads and pottery), as well as a fragment of a flint-lock gun, which in principle would indicate some degree of wealth. Nevertheless, the proximity of most of these finds to horizon C, together with the substantial animal and root disturbance that characterises both layers, means an intrusion from horizon C cannot be entirely discarded.

At present it is difficult to establish how long the occupation of horizon A lasted for, but it any case it would have been under 200 years, probably significantly less, as indicated by the finds in both horizon C and B. Similarly, it is unclear for how long had it been abandoned by the time the burial pit was dug. The fact that the eastern side of the cut coincides exactly with the western end of the wall in A, could indicate that the wall, or at least part of it, was still standing at the

time, and that the pit was thus dug against it. If so, it is likely that the upper part of the wall might have been used to fill the central layer of the pit after the body was deposited.

The most remarkable aspect about this burial, however, is how closely it corresponds to oral traditions. As previously discussed, this area is known by the elders as Solindioye, and is reportedly where noblemen who were found guilty of betraying a state secret were buried, after having been beaten to death (see Int. 32). The archaeological evidence, from the cause of death (blow to the head with sharp, hafted object) and the peri-mortem injuries (broken arms), to the position it was buried in (face down, probably tied up), fully supports this interpretation. As for the dating, the presence of smoking pipes indicates a post 16th C date, while its association to Kaabu suggests it predated the 19th C (for although Kansala fell in the 1860s, most of Kaabu's institutions were long gone by then). Although the rate of sediment deposition is not a reliable chronological marker, as it is influenced by multiple factors, the 15cm of deposits that have accumulated since the pit was closed also go against a 19th C date. On the other hand, the fact that oral traditions about Solindioye are so detailed, while there is no memory of the occupation at horizon A (which also postdates the 16th C), would suggest the upper range of the 16th-18th C bracket is most likely.

6.7 Discussion

While a more comprehensive discussion of the results of the excavation and their relation to other sources of evidence will be undertaken in Ch. 10, I will briefly review here the evidence generated by the excavations at Payoungou for each of the periods studied.

Pre-Kaabu occupation (pre-13th C)

Oral traditions claimed Payoungou was originally founded by the Bainouk: excavations have shown that human occupation of the site does indeed pre-date Kaabu. Four units yielded pre-Kaabu deposits: PYG-A, PYG-C, PYG-D, and PYG-E; verified through a combination of radiocarbon dates and pottery traits. The distance between the northernmost and the southernmost of these units is 620m (see Fig. 6.30), which depending on whether they were strictly contemporary or not, could either indicate that Payoungou's earliest settlement was already quite extensive, or

reflect an already shifting settlement. Additionally, from the structural feature at PYG-C, we can deduce that at least some of its constructions were made of coursed earth, while PYG-A indicates that efficient iron smelting techniques were known, and practiced in the vicinity of habitation areas.

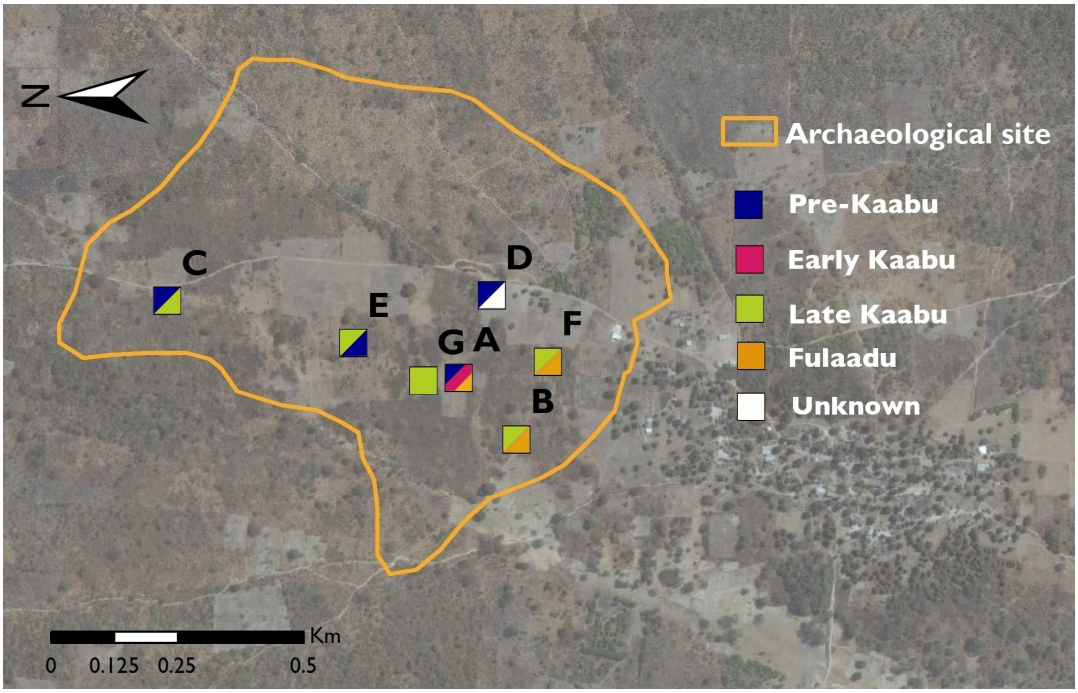


Fig.6.30 Excavated units at Payoungou (size of units not to scale). Basemap: ©2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

Early Kaabu occupation (13th-16th C)

The identification of early Kaabu layers is problematic, as it is largely based on absence of traits belonging to earlier or later periods, rather than on positive evidence. Bearing this caveat in mind, only one horizon was identified as an Early Kaabu occupation: horizon A from PYG-A. It did not have features or structures which could shed light on the nature of this period's occupation, but notably it was immediately on top of pre-Kaabu layers. This scarcity of Early Kaabu deposits contrasts with the prominent political role that oral traditions give to Paypungou, as will be discussed in Ch. 11.

Late Kaabu & Fulaadu occupations (16th-19th C)

The majority of deposits and features excavated belonged to the post 16th C period, as indicated by the abundance of smoking pipe fragments (for a discussion of smoking pipes and dating cf. Ch.10). Nevertheless, unlike Korop, most of Payoungou's deposits had no unequivocally post 18th C imports that allowed to

confidently distinguish between the Late Kaabu and the Fulaadu periods (pottery being identical for both), and therefore the two had to be subsumed in the analysis. The features belonging to this period included four rubbish pits (PYG-E, PYG-F, PYG-G), a midden (PYG-B), two coursed earth walls (PYG-E, PYG-G), one burial (PYG-F), and one floor surface (PYG-F). These features illustrate a variety of relevant aspects: first, that coursed earth, rather than mudbrick, walls were the most common type of building technique, which contrasts with current practices. As for shape, both round (PYG-E) and rectilinear (PYG-G) architectural forms were used, but whether the use of one over the other had social, political or chronological implications cannot be established at present. In terms of refuse disposal, two different methods were encountered: rubbish pits and middens, the differences, similarities, and implications of which will be discussed in Ch. 11.

As for finds, it is in this period when the first European imports appear in Payoungou, including glass and carnelian beads, as well as ceramics and glass bottles. Interestingly, over 3/4 of the imports, gun parts and metal jewellery, as well as 80% of the smoking pipe fragments, were found in the two units in what oral traditions identify as the *tataji* area, i.e. where the king and his entourage lived. While the lack of imports in PYG-C and D is not surprising, as they were both generally poorer in material culture, their total absence from PYG-E is remarkable, and suggests an unequal access to imports and prestige goods in general by different sectors of the population during this period.

Conclusions

The information available for the three periods is very unequal. We have confirmation that Payoungou has been occupied from at least the 7th C AD up until the present, and that occupation has been largely continuous, although periods of abandonment cannot be discounted. While the correspondence between oral traditions for the site and archaeology is remarkable (in particular regarding the wealth of the 'royal' areas and the 'traitor' burial), these correlations involve in all case Late Kaabu or Fulaadu deposits, suggesting that it is this period that most spatially-anchored elder traditions refer to.

Except for the pre-Kaabu horizons, which present a very distinctive set of material culture, continuity across the periods is notable, both in terms of ceramics and small finds. The downside of this similarity is a low chronological resolution, relying largely on C14 dates and chronologically-diagnostic European imports. This

limits the extent to which we can assess mobility patterns. Despite these limitations, the excavations have shown that, with the exception of the iron producing horizon in PYG-A (which lasted over 400 years), all of the occupations in the different units and across all periods, represented timespans of under 300 years, probably less, as the deposits are in all cases very shallow. All these themes and points, will be picked up again and explored in more detailed in Ch. 10, after discussing the excavations in Korop, and the faunal material and small finds from both sites.

CHAPTER 7: KOROP

Several reasons led to the choice of Korop as the second site for excavations. Like Payoungou, it was one of the largest sites encountered, it featured prominently in elder oral traditions and griotic epics, and had more surface material than any other site in the region. At the same time, it was also very different from Payoungou in at least two key respects: first, although notionally as old as the latter, Korop only became a power centre (and for a few years, capital) during the time of Fulaadu; secondly, Korop was located much closer (30km) to the trading ports on the river Gambia, but over 90km away from Kansala, which presumably meant it existed within a very different set of power balances and trade networks. Consequently, both historically and geographically, Korop promised to offer new insights.

In this chapter I discuss the results of the archaeological and historical enquiries at Korop. I start by briefly describing the present village and its political, economic, and environmental context. Having described the current setting, I explore what oral traditions and historical written sources have to say about Korop's past, and how that background can inform the archaeology. I then proceed to describe the results of the excavation, unit by unit, and end by reviewing the information available for each period and what it can tell us about Korop's evolution over time.

Fig.7.1 Korop Maoundé in 2013

7.1.-Current village

Located in the north-east corner of the research area (N13.13799 W14.45015), the village of Korop is part of the Communauté Rural of Fafakour CR, and 20km south of the Gambian border. Its current population, estimated at 270 inhabitants in 2011 (PEPAM 2011), lives mainly from agriculture and herding, as well as from the Koranic school in the village. Despite its small size, it is split into two neighbourhoods: Korop Maoundé (Great Korop), and Korop Sinthian (Little Korop), around 200m to the north of the former, both of which are the respective *jarga*'s family compounds. Although Maoundé is still significantly bigger than Sinthian, the latter is currently expanding, and has trebled ts size in the last four years (see Fig. 7.2). Although Sarakolé, Bambara, Wolof, Manding, and Diankhanké families lived in Korop in the recent past, nowadays all the inhabitants are Fulbe: those at Maoundé are Fulakunda, and those at Sinthian, Rorobé (aka Red Fulbe). The elders said there were also three blacksmith families in the village (Mbo, Kante, and Kondjira), but I did not encountered them. Like Payoungou, Korop has no electricity or running water, and is over 30km from the paved road, which often leaves it isolated during the rainy season.

Fig 7.2 Evolution of Korop Sinthian over the last 5 years. Basemap: © 2015 Google

7.2 Oral traditions and historical sources

Although the bulk of oral traditions about Korop, both epic and local, focus on the Fulaadu period and the fights between Musa Molo and his uncle Bakary Demba (ruler of Korop), Korop is also occasionally mentioned in traditions about older periods. In this section I review those traditions, from the earliest to the most recent, as well as the limited information available about Korop's history from written sources.

Korop and Kaabu

According to the *jarga* of Korop at the time of fieldwork (Bokar Balde, now deceased), the village was founded over 400 years ago by a group of 'Soninke' hunters. These were then displaced by the Bainouk, which were in turn defeated by the Manding. While this is all local traditions say about the town's early history, epic narratives provide some more information. In them, the foundation of Korop is sometimes credited to Tiramakhan (Sidibe 1980, Niane 1989, 24; Girard 1992, 204), sometimes to a group of migrants from Sumacounda (Galloway 1980, 17). It is generally agreed that Korop was in the *banco* of Jimara, although occasionally informants place it in Mamakunda (Sidibe 1980, 22). Its first remembered ruler was Tumang Mane, who was succeeded by Duwa Mane and Madi Maane. This latter was contemporary of Dianke Wali and it is him that the Fulbe fought (Galloway 1980, 17). Not far from Korop, on the route to Soumacounda, was a pond known as Chahi, where the guardian spirit and *dyalan* of Jimara, a white caiman, lived. The caiman only left the pond once a year, in order to attend the dances and celebrations that the *nyanthio* organised in his honour to mark the beginning of the harvest (Niane 1989, 44).

Korop and Fulaadu

Neither epic narratives nor local traditions explain how Korop switched from Manding to Fulbe hands, but at some point in the 19th C, Madi Mane stopped being leader and was replaced by Bakary Demba Balde, Alfa Molo's brother. As was discussed in Ch.3, after Alpha Molo's death in 1881, Bakary Demba was chosen by the elders to succeed him, and moved the Fulaadu capital to Korop. His nephew Musa Molo initially accepted the deal, but twelve years later attacked Korop, forcing Bakary Demba into exile. The reins of Korop were taken then by Dansa Sadiel, Bakary's son, who swore allegiance to Musa, but was soon after

killed by the latter, who suspected Dansa was about to betray him (Sidibe 1984, 12-14).

It is in this period that the first European historical references to Korop appear, which is surprisingly late given the town's proximity to the trading centres in the Gambia. The earliest mention of Korop is in the first census of the Fulaadu in 1891, which lists 'Koropo' as one of the villages in the province of 'Djimara', noting that its *jarga* was Bokar Demba (i.e. Bakary Demba), thus confirming the oral history. Four years later, in 1895, Korop was included in a map by the British cartographer Richard Andree (see Fig.7.3); and in 1896 it was cited by an administrator by the name of Adam as one of the villages of the province of Jimara, ruled by 'Chef Mamadu' (i.e. Mamadou Baleyo, *chef de canton* often cited in oral traditions) who lived in Saré Bojo-Demo (Roche 1985, 384). From then on, mentions to Korop become relatively common.

Fig. 7.3 Detail of 1895 map by Richard Andree showing Korop

Korop in the Colonial Period

Following Musa's exile to the Gambia, he sent a messenger to Korop asking his cousin Fanta Sadiel, Bakary Demba's daughter, to join him there. Fanta refused, and fearing Musa's response, rode to Sedhiou together with her grandmother Soura Gara, to reach a deal with the French commander[1]. They agreed Fanta would collect tax for the French in Korop, and the territory of Mamakounda more widely, and in return the French would protect her and the town from Musa's attacks (Alfa Balde, Int. 27). After Fanta Sadiel's death, she was buried next to her house in Korop (see below), and succeeded by her younger brother Densa, who moved the capital from Korop to Sare Yéroyel (near Fafakour) (Alfa Balde, Int. 27).

Contrary to many of the villages in its vicinity, Korop was continually occupied throughout the colonial period, with one short exception. During Mamadou Baleyo's rule as *chef de canton* of Jimara, Korop was briefly abandoned, as its inhabitants fled to Marewe (in the Gambia) to escape recruitment into forced labour for the construction of the road. The abandonment, however, lasted less than a month (Alpha Balde & Daouda Balde Int. 27).

7.3 The archaeological site

Korop Maoundé (1.6ha) is located in the southernmost part of the site, while Korop Sinthian (0.6ha) is right in the middle of it (see Fig.7.7). The area with visible surface pottery occupies an area of 60.6ha, but as visibility is limited to cultivated areas, the total size of the site is probably larger. It limits in the west with a seasonal stream, and in the east with a baobab forest, but has no clear southern or northern limits. According to the current *jarga,* at its peak Korop was so large that a whole army could march on one side without the people living on the other side noticing (Bokar Balde, fieldnotes). In terms of surface finds, Korop was the richest site encountered during the survey, as it included not just substantial amounts of pottery, but also more glass and small finds than usual, especially in the fields between the two currently inhabited neighbourhoods. The local conceptualisation of the archaeological site included several features and zones:

1 Which if we assume this visit happened on the same year a Musa Molo's exile, i.e. 1903, would have been du Mazel, according to the list of Sedhiou commanders provided by Roche (1985, 386).

Tataji

According to the *jarga,* four *tataji* had existed in Korop over time. Although none of them were visible on the surface, he claimed to know their contours, which we recorded as GPS tracks. Remarkably, the contours of two of these *tataji* are perfectly clear in satellite images from 2011 (1 & 3 in Fig. 7.4), and one is traceable in those from 2013 (2 in Fig. 7.4). The fourth one is in a densely vegetated area and thus not visible. According to the *jarga,* the first of these *tataji* (Tata 1) belonged to Bakary Demba. In this case, the structure visible on satellite imagery was contained by, but did not exactly match, the contour indicated by the *jarga*. In fact the latter was over twice as large as the former. This is surprising given how it is notionally the most recent of the four, and if its attribution to Bakary Demba is correct, would have been occupied until the early 20th C, which means the current jarga would have seen it standing as a child. It is therefore likely, that the structure visible from the air is in fact an enclosure *inside* the tata, rather than the *tata* itself. Also supporting this possibility is how the historian Bakary Sidibé's, visiting Korop in the 1970s reported that 'beyond where the Fula live, towards the ricefields, is where the fortress was built. I have never seen anything else so big as that fort' (Sidibe 1980, 22). The structure visible in the satellite imagery measures 50x50m, which as discussed in Ch. 5, is not particularly large for the region. The contour traced by the *jarga*, on the other hand, enclosed an area of 160x95m, which would have been far more deserving of Sidibé's description. Furthermore, although not very clear, this larger contour is also visible on the satellite imagery as a lightly shaded area around the structure (see Fig. 7.4)

The second *tata* (Tata 2), which the *jarga* identified as the *tata* Manding, was located immediately north of Tata 1, and was only visible in satellite imagery taken during the rainy season. Again, the contours traced by the *jarga* (60x70m) were larger than the visible structure (40x40m), but in this case the northern and eastern sides of both align perfectly. As for the third *tata* (Tata 3), which the *jarga* described as the Bainouk fortress, the contour traced on the ground and the structure visible from the air coincide, but their shapes do not, as the former is square, but the latter is round. This round structure, which appears to be regular and 80m in diameter, was the only one of its sort documented. The last *tata* (Tata 4), whose existence cannot be confirmed, as it is covered in vegetation and hence not visible from the air, was notionally the 'Soninké' fortress, the oldest of the four. As with the rest of

tataji recorded in the study area, all of the Korop *tataji* were oriented with their walls facing the cardinal points.

Dyalan

Located 20m to the east of Tata 2, Korop's *dyalan* is a medium-sized baobab with a bee colony living in its upper branches. According to the elders, the tree belonged to the first Soninké ruler of the town, who commanded the bees in it, and used them as a weapon in war. Although not feared or prayed to anymore (in fact the honey from the bees is regularly collected by the villagers) the tree is thought to still be active. In fact, in 2012 it is believed to have talked to a passing traveller, telling him that village was over 400 years old, and that he had been there before its creation (Daouda Balde, Int. 27).

Previous village

According to the elders, the space between Tata 1 and Korop Maoundé was where the village was located at the time of Bakary Demba, before it moved to its

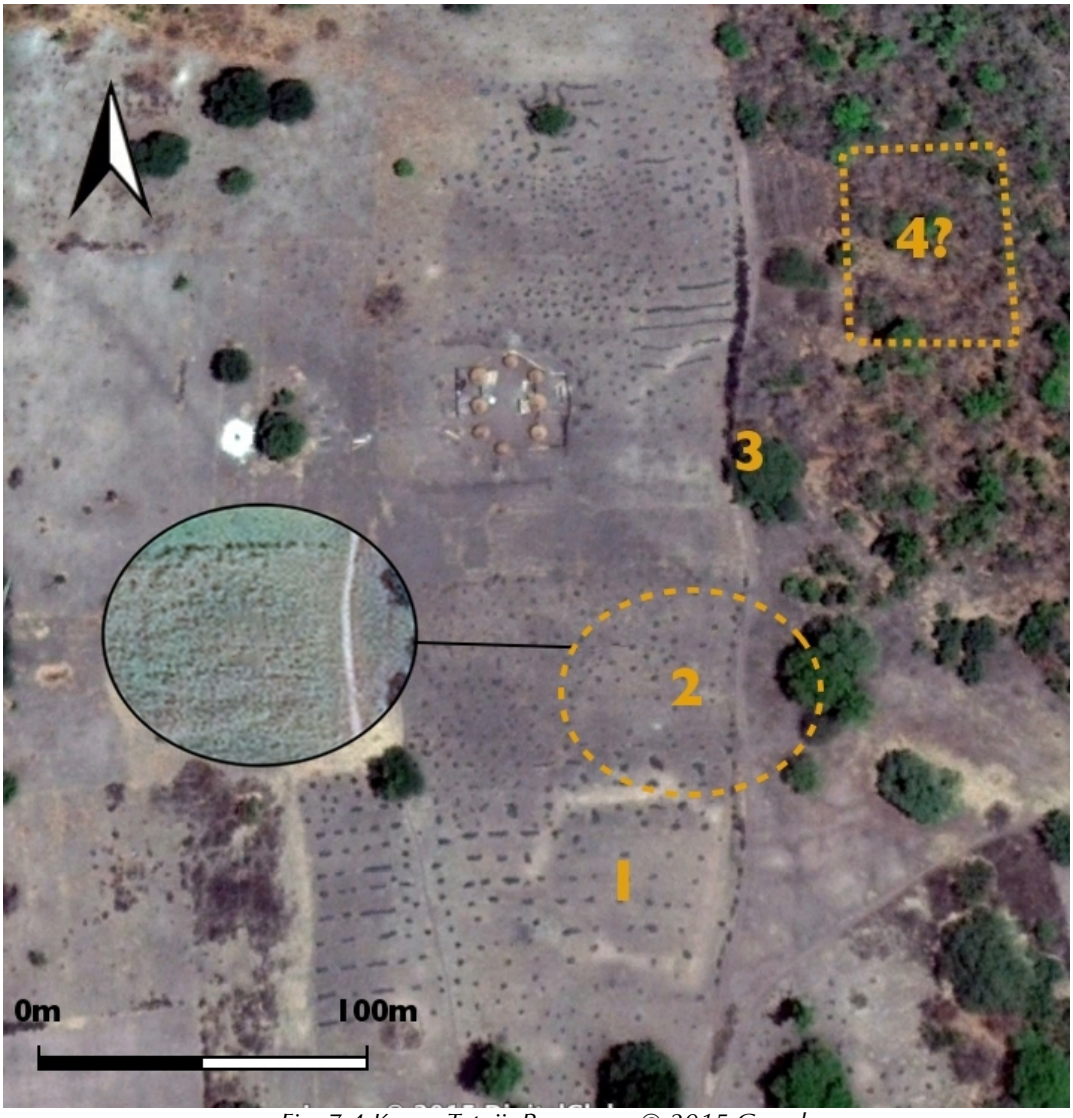


Fig. 7.4 Korop Tataji. Basemap: © 2015 Google

present location. This is supported by the presence of visible terrain elevations marking abandoned compounds and depressions indicating former wells. Two of these elevations were identified by the elders as Dansa Sadiel and Fanta Sadiel's house, respectively. The former, which was the largest of the two was a small mound (approx. 30cm high and under 30m in diameter) with the foundations of a square structure on top. The latter did not present any elevation. Between the two of them was a tree where the elders claim Fanta and Dansa's mother were buried, and north of it was Bakary Demba's *tata* (see Fig.7.5). Each of these residential structures had its own well, whose location was still visible.

Fig. 7.5 Korop's Fulaadu abandonments and wells. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

The Bambara neighbourhood

To the east of Tata 2, at a distance of approximately 300m, was the area where the elders say the Bambara used to live before they left the town during the times of Fanta Sadiel. This information was only mentioned after we opened a unit in that area and found a burial (see KRP-B section).

Wells

In addition to the three wells associated with Bakary Demba's, Dansa Sadiel's, and Fanta Sadiel's compounds, we encountered two wells in the westernmost part of the site, in the area between the smaller baobab forest and the

rice fields (see Fig.7.6). They were 2 and 4 meters-deep, respectively, and one still had some of the supporting beams, indicating a relatively recent -probably Fulaadu- abandonment. The furthest of the wells was over 500 meters away from the limit of the cultivated area (and hence the limits of the site as defined on the evidence of surface pottery), suggesting ancient Korop might have been in fact substantially larger than indicated by surface finds alone. Nevertheless, wells are also sometimes located outside villages, and therefore are not an infallible indication of settlement size or boundaries.

Fig. 7.6 One of the abandoned wells near the rice fields

7.4 Excavations

Methodology

As for Payoungou. See Ch. 6, section 6.61.

Summary of results

Two seasons of excavations were undertaken in Korop, taking place in March (units A & B) and December (units C-E) 2013. A total of 5 units was excavated, ranging from 2x3 to 4x6m, covering a total excavated area of 44m^2. The occupational deposits found dated from the 13th to the 20th C (see Table 7.2). As in Payoungou, most units included only one or two occupational horizons, and

deposits were always less than a meter deep, with the exception of the rubbish pits in KRP-A (105cm) and KRP-D (121cm). All units except for KRP-E had features in them, including three refuse pits (KRP A, C & D) and a burial (KRP-B). Following fieldwork, three wood charcoal samples were submitted to Beta Analytic to be dated. As with Payoungou, only contexts without smoking pipes were chosen. The results (detailed in Table 7.2), were less useful than in Payoungou, as 2 out of the 3 samples were dated in the 'modern' 17th-20th C range. The third one, however, provided a much more helpful result (AD 1030-1210). Additional *terminus post quem* dates were provided by smoking pipe fragments, ceramic traits, and European imports (listed in Table 7.3).

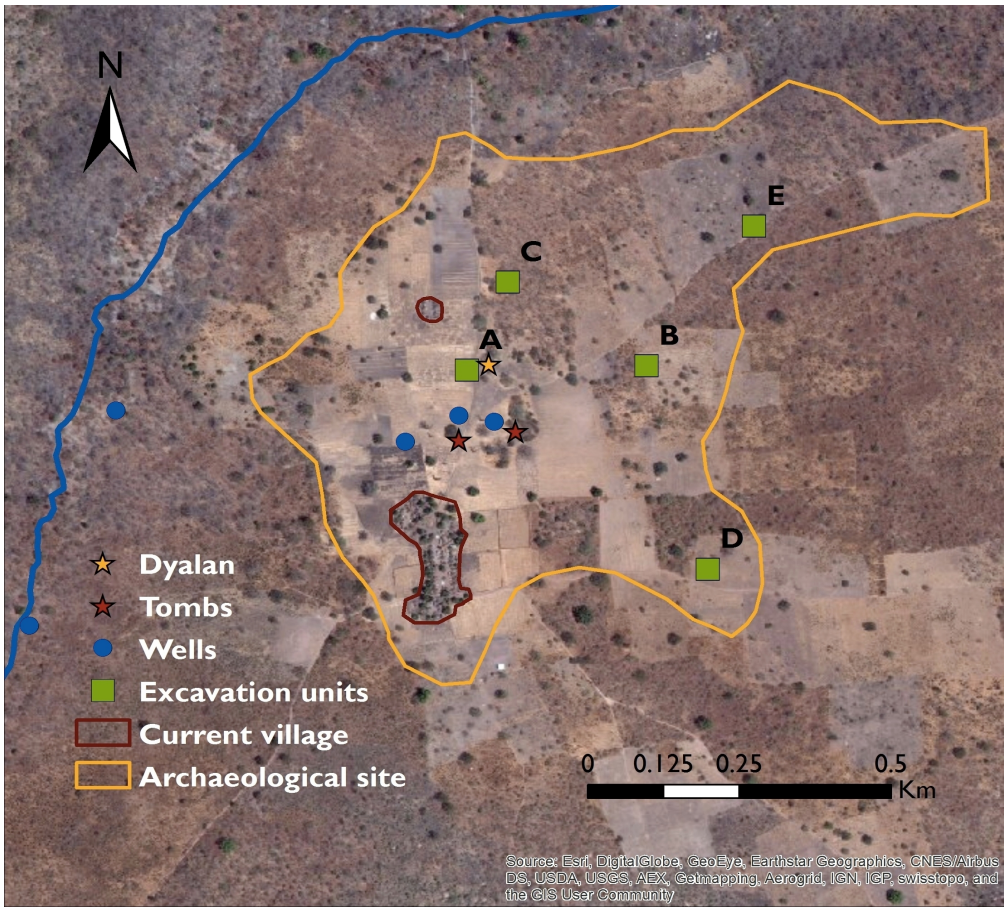


Fig.7.7 Excavations at Korop

Table 7.1 Excavated units in Korop

Unit	Dimensions	Depth	Features	Periods
KRP-A	2x3m	64-107cm	Refuse pit	Fulaadu
KRP-B	4x5m	42-43cm	Burial	Fulaadu
KRP-C	2x3m	33-74cm	Refuse pit	Fulaadu Pre-Kaabu?
KRP-D	2x3m	55-121cm	Refuse pit	Early Kaabu Late Kaabu
KRP-E	2x3m	48-51cm	No	Pre-Kaabu Late Kaabu

Table. 7.2 Radiocarbon dates for Korop

Unit/Context	C14 date	Lab number	1 Sigma Cal.	2 Sigma Cal.
KRP-A, 11	80±30 bp	Beta-374188	AD 1685-1730 AD 1810-1925 Post AD 1950	AD 1695-1725 AD1815-1835 Post AD 1950
KRP-C, 4	120±30 bp	Beta-374189	AD 1665-1780 AD 1795-1895 AD 1905-1950	AD 1680-1695 AD 1725-1765 AD 1835-1880 AD 1915-1940 Post Ad 1950
KRP-D, 4	740±30 bp	Beta-374190	AD 1255-1290	AD 1265-1285

Table 7.3 Datable small finds from Korop (excluding smoking pipes)

Unit/Context	Date	Material
KRP surface	Late 19th- 20th C	#10: perfume bottle
KRP surface	Post late 19th C	#11d: European ceramics
KRP surface	19th C	#11c: European ceramics
KRP surface	19th C	#11b: European ceramics
KRP surface	19th-20th C	gin bottle fragments
KRP surface	19th C	#8: glass bead
KRP surface	First half 19th C	#9: glass bead
KRP A-2	post mid-19th C	#47: glass bead
KRP A-2	late 19th C	#42: milkglass
KRP A-2	First half 19th C	#46: glass bead
KRP A-2	17th-19th	#51: glass bead
KRP A-2	17th-19th	#55: glass bead
KRP A-2	17th-19th	#56: glass bead
KRP A-2	Post17th C	#40: flintlock trigger
KRP A-2	Post17th C	#251: flint lock flake
KRP A-2	Post17th C	#252: flint lock fragment
KRP A-2	post 19th C	#48: glass bead
KRP A-3	17th-19th	#65: glass bead
KRP A-3	17th-19th	#66: glass bead
KRP A-3	17th-19th	#67: glass bead
KRP A-6	Post17th C	#255: gun flint fragment
KRP A-7	17th-19th	#75: glass bead
KRP A-7	17th-19th	#75: glass bead
KRP B-3	17th-19th	#82: glass bead
KRP B-3	Post17th C	#249: gun flint
KRP C-2	Post17th C	#221 gun flint
KRP C-2	Late 19th- 20th C	#214: perfume bottle
KRP C-4	17th-19th	#216: glass bead
KRP C-4	post 19th C	#218: glass bead

Korop A

The first unit excavated in Korop was placed inside Tata 2 (identified by the elders as the Manding *tata*), in its south-east corner next to the southern *tata* wall (N13.13869, W14.45187). The placement against the wall was not intentional, but resulted from the lack of visibility on the surface, and the erroneous contour of this particular side of the enclosure given by the elders. This unit measured 2x3cm and uncovered between 64cm and 107cm of deposits, the deepest measurement corresponding to a refuse pit, making this the deepest sequence encountered in the site, as well as the richest in material culture. Two different horizons were encountered:

Table 7.4 KRP-A horizons

KRP-A			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Fulaadu	B	**1.-** Surface clearing.	3
		2.- Topsoil.	23
		3.- Living surface	41
	A	**5,7,11,14.-** Rubbish pit fill	107
		4,6.- Living surface	47
		8, 9,10,12.-Bioturbated deposits & burrows	67
		15.- Wall melt	66

Horizon A: refuse pit and living surface (19th C)

Sitting on top of sterile, the 30cm of deposits of this horizon were initially quite similar to sterile (very compact and orange), gradually becoming looser, browner, and with higher quantities of material culture. The top part of this horizon was very likely a compacted-earth living surface, but it had been heavily cross-cut by burrows which obscured its nature (see Fig.7.9). The central area next to the southern section was characterised by a clayey compact structure heavily disturbed by termite activity, most probably wall melt from the *tata* wall. Finds on the surface and in the bioturbated deposits included 1.25kg of pottery, 13.63g of glass, 145g of animal bone, one large piece of slag (440g), 2 glass beads (#72,74), a British gunflint (#255) and 3 smoking pipe fragments.

The main feature of this horizon was a round pit, 80cm in diameter and 60cm deep. It had been dug cutting through sterile soil, and initially filled with a layer of charcoal, followed by a variety of wild animals (antelope, turtle, civet) and cattle bones, as well as 5 smoking pipe fragments, a glass bead (SF#78), and large pottery sherds. The top of this layer was one dominated by cattle and ovicaprid bones, including also two glass beads (#75-6) found beside the two cow mandibles (see Fig. 7.8). The final part of the pit had been filled with fowl and small-medium bovid bones, broken 19th C case gin bottles, pottery, slag, as well as substantial amounts of ash. It is difficult to establish how quickly the filling on this pit would have taken, as it could be both the result of a single event or of two or three separate ones. The fact that no unburnt sediment accumulated between the different layers, however, would suggest that if these were separate events, they were not

segmented by a rainy season. This was the only complete refuse pit excavated during the project.

Fig.7.8 Refuse pit in KRP-A, Horizon B

Fig.7.9 Burrows in KRP-A, Horizon B

Horizon B: open space (19th C)

This horizon included the top 30-40cm of deposits, characterised by a grey loose sediment and large amounts of finds, including 5.4kg of pottery,170g of glass, 605g of bone, 260g of slag, as well as 24 glass beads and one stone bead (#53), 20 smoking pipe fragments, half a spindle whorl (#41), a fragment of 19th milkglass (#42), two British grey gunflints (#151-2) a small iron spoon (#62), multiple iron fragments, as well as isolated pieces of mudbrick. This horizon extended across the unit and was stratigraphically above the other horizon.

KRP-A overview

The first occupation of this area of the site dates to the 19th C and corresponds to the *tata* visible on satellite imagery and remembered by the elders. The living surface of this period was cut by the digging and rapid filling of a round refuse pit very near to the SE corner of the *tata* enclosure. The abundance of cattle and European imports, unparalleled by any other excavated unit in the site, together with the general wealth of material culture in both the pit and in horizon B, confirm this was in fact an affluent area.

If the oral tradition's identification as a Manding *tata* is correct (and most 19th C aspects tend to be), this unit would provide a unique insight into the transition from Manding to Fulbe dominance. First, it would suggest in Korop this transition occurred rather late. Secondly, it would indicate that the lifestyle of the Korop Manding elites did not decline towards the end of Kaabu, as they appear to have feasted, smoked, and bought European goods in quantity until the abandonment of the *tata*. Finally, it would mean that when Bakary Demba rose to power, instead of re-occupying the Manding *tata,* he chose to build a new one right next to it, which as will be discussed later, has interesting implications in terms of spatial conceptualisations of power.

Korop B

The second unit in Korop was placed in a harvested field 300m to the east of the first one, in an area that had shown different surface pottery during the survey and which the *jarga* identified as the 'Bambara neighbourhood' (Bokar Balde, fieldnotes). This was the shallowest of all four units in terms of deposits (40cm), and the largest in terms of horizontal exposure (5x4m), as it was twice expanded, first to encompass the burial, and later to better understand its context. It was also the unit

most affected by post-depositional processes, roots and termite disturbances in particular, which greatly obscured the stratigraphy.

Table 7.5 KRP-B horizons

KRP-B			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Fulaadu	C	**4, 8-** Matrix surrounding the skeleton.	31
		10.- Skeleton.	30
	B	**1,5,13,14.-** Surface clearing.	5
		2,6,15,16.- Topsoil.	16
		3,7,17,18.- Living surface	26
	A	**9.-** Root marks.	34
		11.- Deposits underneath the skeleton.	43
		19.- Termite structure.	30

Horizon A: open space (18th/19th C)

This horizon comprised the first 20cm after sterile, and was heavily disturbed by both roots and termite activity, the former concentrating on the NE quadrant, and the latter present throughout the unit. No features or structures were encountered. In terms of material culture, it included 1kg of pottery, a piece of British gunflint (#249), four glass beads (#82-3,85-6) –including a *galet rouge* and a *galet blanc–,* a brass bead (#90), and two smoking pipe fragments. The combination of these finds thus indicates a post 17th C date.

Horizon B: open space (19th C)

This horizon comprised the top 20cm across the unit, and it did not include any features or structures either. It did, however contain three isolated bricks which were used to define the surface separating Horizon A from B. Horizon B was also the richest in material culture, which included 1.6 kg of pottery, 13 smoking pipe fragments, 2 glass beads (#81-2), and a small fragment of European glazed ceramics (#97).

Horizon C: burial (19th C)

In the eastern end of the unit, cutting across Horizon B was a human burial. The individual had been buried lying on his/her left side on a south-north axis, facing west. He/she (sex could not be determined) had both lower legs flexed, and the left arm raised upwards and flexed so the head was resting on the left hand. Both the right arm, the feet, and the ribs were missing, and the pelvis and ribs were heavily damaged by both roots (a bush had grown though the chest) and termite activity. Additionally, fragments of teeth and vertebrae had been displaced upwards. No grave goods were found around the body, other than small pottery fragments, and one piece of slag next to the pelvis. The heavy disruption caused by the combination of the termite structure in the northwest quadrant and the bush growing right on top of the burial made it impossible to identify the limits of the burial pit. As the excavated pit was only 20cm (which would not cover a human body before decay), it is safe to assume that in addition to the termite and root disturbance, this area of the site has experienced significant erosion since the burial pit was excavated.

KRP-B overview

The first occupation of this area took place after the 17th C, most likely in the 19th C. These dates are entirely consistent with local oral traditions, which identify this area as the Bambara neighbourhood abandoned at the time of the rule of Fanta Sadiel (i.e. towards the end of Fulaadu at the beginning of colonialism). We do not know much about the nature of this first occupation, represented by Horizon A, as it included no features or structures. The scatter of material culture present, however, would suggest it was an open space in the vicinity of a residential area. This appears to have also been the case in the later horizon (B), where the quantity of material increases and isolated bricks appear, potentially indicating greater proximity to residential structures.

At some point in the late 19th C, a pit was dug and an individual was buried. Although the burial was heavily disturbed by roots and termites, it is clear from the position that it was carefully laid and non-Islamic. The presence of a burial, however, is not incompatible with the identification of the area as an open space next to a domestic area, as oral traditions include numerous instances of people

buried inside or next to their houses. In fact Fanta Sadiel herself was buried next to her compound, as was her mother, according to Bokar Balde, Korop's *jarga* (fieldnotes).

Fig. 7.10 Burial in KRP-B

Korop C

The third unit in Korop (N13.14005 W14.45127) was placed inside what elders identified as the Soninké *tata*. Although some villagers claim the area was cultivated at some point, it had not been so for years, as proven by the size of the trees present. The specific placement of the unit inside the *tata* area was chosen entirely on practical grounds, avoiding both termite mounds and fallen trees, and at a reasonable distance from larger trees in order to reduce root disturbances. KRP-C measured 2x3m in extension, and yielded a 33cm-deep sequence of deposits throughout the unit, and of 75cm in the refuse pit area. Three distinct horizons could be identified:

Table 7.6 KRP-C horizons

KRP-C			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth(cm)**
Fulaadu	C	**1.-**Surface clearing.	1
		2.- Topsoil.	13
		3.-Grey layer across the unit.	22
	B	**4.-**Living surface	27
		6,7- Rubbish pit fill	74
Pre-Kaabu?	A	**5.-** Charcoal pocket	40
		8.-Living surface cut by the rubbish pit.	35

Horizon A: pre-pit deposits (pre-13th C?)

The earliest horizon in the unit consisted of 10cm of deposits, which as in both KRP-A and KRP-B, were initially very compact, orange and poor in material culture, gradually becoming less so. Out of the 17 sherds encountered in this horizon, 13 were Orange Gritty Ware (see Ch. 8), so far unknown in Korop. Other finds included small quantities of animal bone and two pieces of slag. No structures or features were encountered. The upper part of the horizon was cut by a small (20cm in diameter, 10cm deep) charcoal pocket against the northern section. Although no C14 dates were obtained for this horizon, the prevalence of OGW and the absence of finds belonging to later periods strongly suggest a pre-Kaabu occupation.

Horizon B: rubbish pit and living surface(19th C)

Cutting horizon A was a 60cm-deep refuse pit. The pit went into both the east and south sections, so no complete dimensions were present, but the area inside the unit was round and measured approximately 90x20cm. The deposits inside included substantial amounts of charcoal, present throughout but especially dense in two charcoal lenses, at 20cm and 40cm from the base, respectively. The finds inside the pit included very degraded animal bone, three smoking pipe fragments, a *galet rouge* bead (#216), a 19th *cornaline d'Aleppo* bead (#218), an iron bracelet fragment (#217), an iron earring (#239), 490g of pottery, small amounts of glass, a 100g of slag, and 300g of bone. No ash was present.

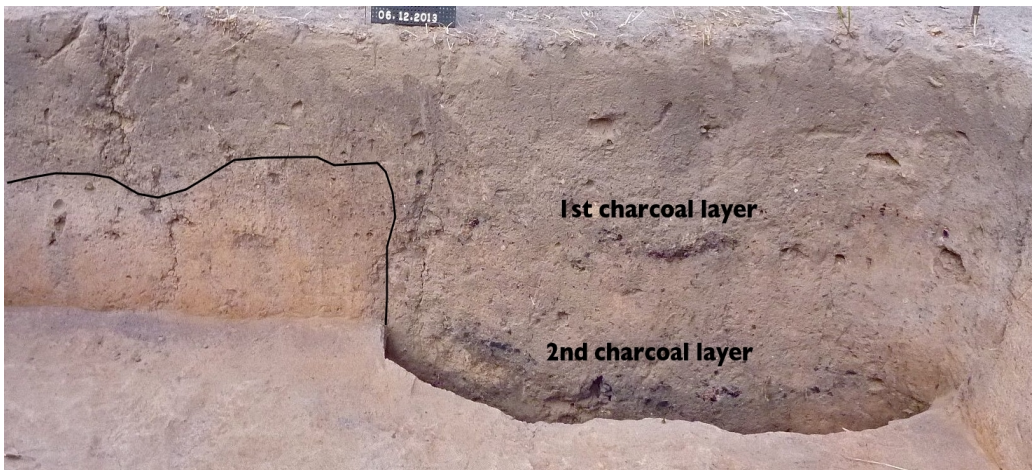


Fig.7.11 Pit in KRP-C, Horizon B

Horizon C: post-pit deposits (19th C)

The top 20cm did not include any features or structures, and were characterised by loose deposits, grey in colour, and relatively rich in material culture, compared to the rest of the unit. Finds included 690g of pottery, 80g of slag, and small quantities of glass and very degraded animal bone. The small finds featured a fragment of a 19th C French perfume bottle (#214), a British gunflint (#221), a piece of an iron bracelet (#215) and four smoking pipe fragments, which together consistently dated this horizon to the 19th C.

KRP-C overview

Although we have strong indications of a pre-Kaabu occupation of this area, further evidence –C14 dates in particular – would be necessary in order to confirm this interpretation, as the correlation between OGW and pre-13th C dates has been established for Payoungou, but not for Korop. If confirmed, however, it would reinforce the elders' identification of this area as the 'Soninké *tata*' where local rulers notionally lived prior to the Manding arrival.

Following this initial occupation, this area was settled again in the 19th C when a refuse pit was dug and subsequently filled. Although the precise timing of its filling cannot be established, it would have been a matter of a few decades at most, as the finds at the bottom of the pit, and those that accumulated on top after its closure are of the same period. Although not comparable to that of KRP-A, the finds in KRP-C also indicate access to European goods, including perfume, glass beads, and guns. The rather rapid filling of the pit is also indicated by the fact that 15cm of living surface formed on top after its closure, also dated to the 19th C.

Korop D

This unit was placed in the southeastern-most part of the site, 400m to the east (N13.13561 W14.44830) of the current village, in an area currently used for peanut cultivation. It was 2x3m wide and had 55cm of deposits throughout, except for the refuse pit area, where deposits reached a depth of 121cm. As with KRP-C, this unit's main and only feature was a refuse pit, and the deposits were divided into three main horizons:

Table 7.7 KRP-D horizons

KRP-D			
Period	**Horizon**	**Context Aggregates**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Late Kaabu	B	**1.-** Surface clearing.	2
		2.- Topsoil.	13
		3, 4.- Living surface	39
Early Kaabu	A	**6.-**Living surface cut by the rubbish pit.	55
		5, 7, 8- Rubbish pit	121

Horizon A: Rubbish pit and living surface (13th C)

This horizon included the 15-20cm above sterile, which were very compact and poor in material culture (30g of pottery and a piece of slag). This horizon also included a 90cm-deep rubbish pit, adjacent to the western section. The part of the pit inside the unit measured 115x45cm, but like that in KRP-C, it was right against the corner, so neither of these measurements were indicative of the pit's total size. Unlike most of the other pits excavated, it did not gradually narrow down with depth, but instead presented an angular step approximately 40cm from the base. Connecting the step with the base of the pit was a layer of charcoal followed by one of ash (see Fig. 7.12).

The finds inside the pit included 580g of pottery, a smoking pipe fragment, and a piece of iron (#241). At the top, the pit had overspilt towards the south, covering the whole western third of the unit, and a C14 date of AD 1265-1285 was obtained from this overspill[2]. This find is in principle at odds with the post-1500 AD

2 Although the charcoal sample from which this date was obtained is registered as coming from context 4, it came from the lowest and westernmost part of the context, which was already part of the overspill, and should have been excavated as 5.

date indicated by the smoking pipe fragment also from the overspill. Nevertheless, the pit overspill had been affected by both a termite structure and a burrow big enough to have brought the pipe fragment in from the superficial deposits (horizon C). Therefore, my working assumption is that the C14 date actually dates the pit, and that the pipe is intrusive.

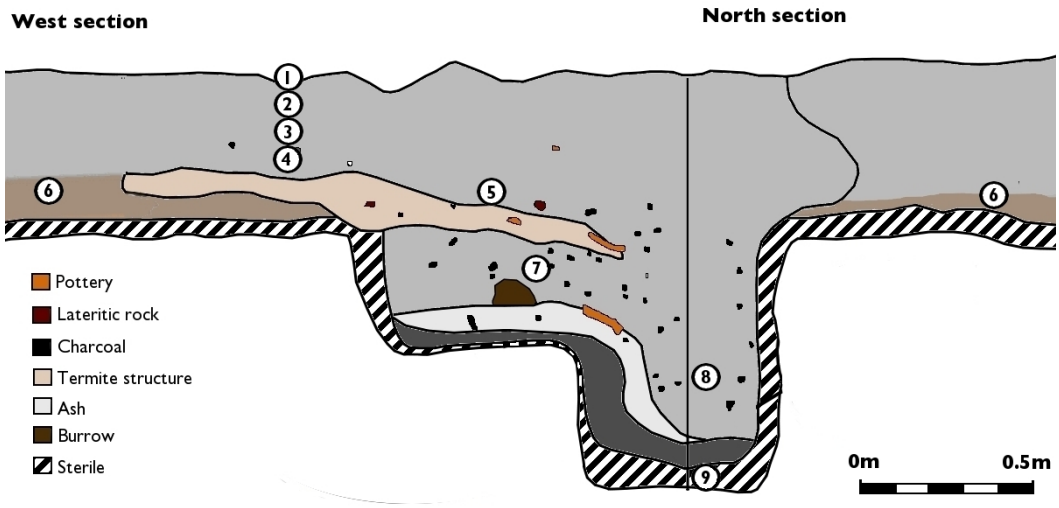


Fig.7.12 Pit in KRP-D, Horizon B

Horizon B: open space (post 16th C)

The top 40cm of deposits did not have any feature or structure, but were the richest in material culture. They included 17 smoking pipe fragments, a carnelian bead (#236), 1.97kg of pottery and 20g of slag.

Korop D overview

Although additional evidence would be required to make a solid case (as the present one is largely reliant on a single radiocarbon date); KRP-D tentatively contains evidence of an Early Kaabu occupation dating to the period of the first Manding arrival to the area. Remarkably, the features and occupational sequence, are almost identical to KRP-C (dated to the Fulaadu period): a first occupation consisting on a living surface and a rubbish pit, followed by a second one without any structures, lasting until at least the 16th C.

Korop E

The final unit in Korop was placed in the northeastern part of the site. (N13.14092 W14.44762), located 300m northeast of KRP-B, and over 400m from KRP-C. Like KRP-D, this area had no associated oral traditions but had both surface pottery and slag. The unit was located in a harvested cotton field, over an area of 2x3m, and uncovered 50cm of deposits. No structures, features, or stratigraphic changes were detected, and thus the unit was largely dug in spits. The sediment became grey and loose, and then progressively more compact, orange, and with less material culture, until it became entirely sterile. A total of 1.19kg of pottery was collected, and two small smoking pipe fragments were encountered in the top 10cm of deposits. Beyond this point, the pottery became significantly different to those of previous units, formed by a combination of OGW and undecorated sherds with very coarse grog temper. This was, together with the three sherds in KRP-C, the only occurrence of OGW in Korop. In this case, however, the higher numbers, together with the generally different nature of the pottery throughout the sequence and the complete absence of any material culture from later periods presented a stronger case for a pre-Kaabu occupation. The absence of structures or features, together with the scarcity of finds would suggest this was near an inhabited area, rather than inhabited itself.

Table 7.8 KRP-E horizons

KRP-E			
Period	**Horizon**	**Contexts**	**Max. depth (cm)**
Late-Kaabu	B	**1.-** Surface clearing	3
		2.- Topsoil	13
Pre-Kaabu	A	**3.-** 2nd spit	29
		4.-3rd spit	34
		5.- 4th spit	45
		6.-5th spit.	51

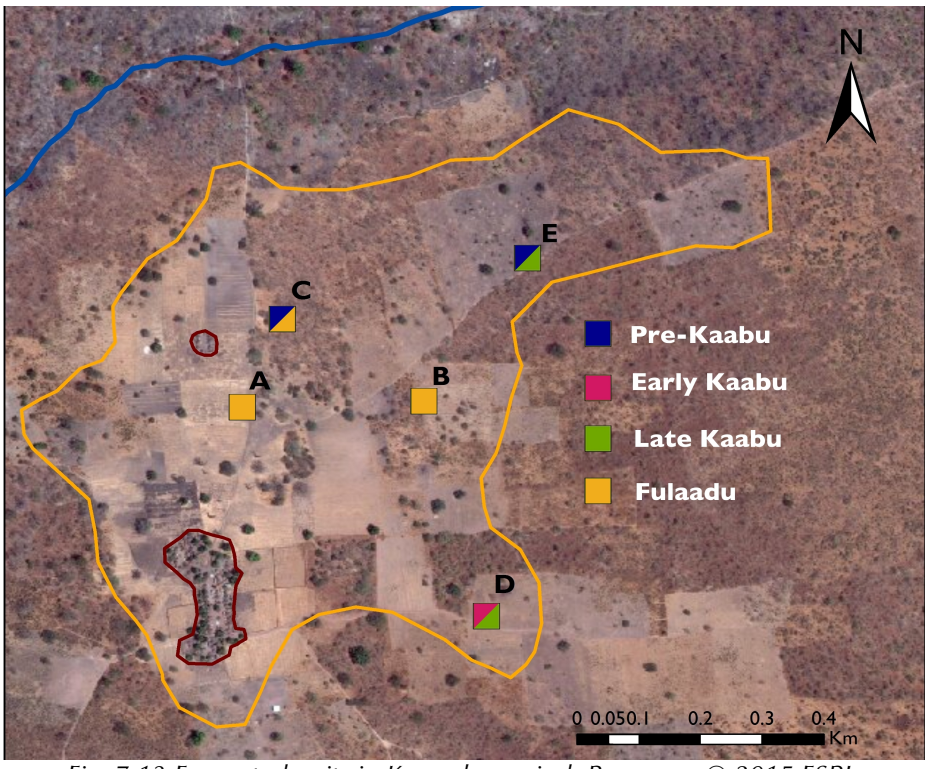


Fig. 7.13 Excavated units in Korop by period. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

7.5 Discussion

Pre-Kaabu

The evidence for early occupations of Korop was scarcer than in Payoungou. The only convincing pre-Kaabu occupation was found at KRP-E, but its dating is based exclusively on the presence of OGW and therefore should only be taken as provisional. Not much can be said about this occupation, other than it was located in the NE end of the archaeological site and that it was followed by Late Kaabu deposits.

Early Kaabu

As for early Kaabu, KRP-D yielded a late 13th C radiocarbon date, which although disputed by the presence of a smoking pipe from the same context, is consistent enough for a tentative date, as there is evidence suggesting the pipe might be intrusive. If this date is confirmed, KRP-D presents an interesting comparative sample, as its refuse pit is similar in both size and morphology, to that of KRP-C, which belongs to the Fulaadu period. Furthermore, as was the case in Payoungou, and will be further explored in Ch.10, the continuity between the Early

Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaaadu ceramic traditions is remarkable at both Korop and Payoungou.

Late Kaabu and Fulaadu

As in Payoungou, the separation between Kaabu and Fulaadu is not a straightforward one, for while there are finds that positively identify deposits as 19th C (and hence belonging to the Fulaadu period as defined in Ch. 6), the distinction of Late Kaabu from Fulaadu deposits is largely based on absence of evidence, which is particularly problematic when the samples are small, as was the case in most units in Korop. One unit (KRP-D) had post-16th C horizons without 19th C imports and was thus attributed to the Late Kaabu period. Nevertheless, it was generally poor in material culture, and did not have any structures or features that could cast light on life in Korop during this period.

One additional horizon, the burial in KRP-B, also presented deposits which while definitely post-16th C, did not have the range of 19th C imports present in other Fulaadu period horizons. In this case, however, I believe that the combination of oral traditions linking the area to a Fulaadu/colonial occupation are sufficient to tentatively class this burial as belonging to the Fulaadu period. It is necessary to reiterate here, however, that the 'Fulaadu period' as defined in this thesis refers not just to the few decades when the Fulaadu existed as a fully-developed state dominating the whole Upper Casamance, but also includes the wider period of Kaabu's decomposition and the rise of Fulbe polities in the region to the onset of full colonial rule, a period which corresponds roughly to the 19th C.

Thus defined, this is the period to which most of the excavated evidence from Korop belongs, and consequently the one we have most information about. The three units with Fulaadu deposits (KRP-A, KRP-B, and KRP-C) are very different in nature and provide diverse insights into the nature of this transitional period. KRP-A, for instance, was located in the middle of what the elders defined as the Manding *tata,* which the excavations demonstrated was indeed an elite area, as indicated by the wealth of the finds, that included the largest concentrations of glass beads, gunflints, and European ceramics found in the whole project (see Ch.10). As is discussed in Ch.9, the faunal content of the refuse pit was also significantly richer than that of any other unit. Furthermore, the dates associated with the KRP-A deposits show how the Manding elites maintained these opulent consumption habits until the end of the *tata*'s occupation, suggesting their loss of

power might have been rather sudden. It is also worth remarking that after the Manding overthrow, the Fulaadu rulers decided not to reoccupy the Manding *tata,* but instead built a new larger one right next to it.

The contribution of KRP-B was of a completely different nature. Although heavily damaged by both termites and roots, the burial in this unit was clearly non-Islamic, very shallow, and close to, if not inside, living structures, thus providing information about both burial practices and the very recent full Islamisation in Korop. Finally, KRP-C provides an insight into a non-royal area of the site. Both the general deposits and the refuse pit show access to both European imports (one perfume bottle, a piece of gunflint) and jewellery (iron bracelet and earring) but on a scale significantly lower to that of KRP-A. Interestingly, not one single glass bead was encountered in KRP-B, which highly contrasts with the 28 beads from KRP-A (see Fig.10.12).

Conclusions

The excavations in Korop confirmed some of the general observations derived from the work at Payoungou and added new information. In terms of similarities, they confirm that oral traditions are most accurate for the 18th and 19th C, as demonstrated by the precision in the identification of *tataji*. The consistent congruence of Korop and Payoungou's material culture over time, from OGW to recent wares, suggests the two sites (and therefore the rest of the Upper Casamance, as they are in opposite corners of the region) were part of a shared cultural sphere since before the Manding arrival. In terms of mobility and settlement patterns, all the excavated units at Korop had only one or two horizons of occupation, and when clear dates were available, all of them indicated an occupation under 200 years. This mobility was also reflected in the depth of the deposits, which were on average even shallower than in Payoungou.

Although at present we cannot assess whether the elders' claim that the site has never been abandoned for over a month is accurate (as all we have are largely unconnected snapshots of different moments in the site's history), the excavations indicate that Korop was occupied at some point during all four periods (pre-Kaabu, early Kaabu, late Kaabu, and Fulaadu). In terms of how the site has 'shifted' over time, all we can say for now is that the movements were not linear, as the units with pre-Kaabu and early Kaabu deposits were located at opposite ends of the site.

As for the differences between Payoungou and Korop, it is not surprising that

being so much closer to the Gambia trading ports, Korop had a greater range and quantity of European imports (see Tables 7.3 & 6.5). Particularly interesting, however, is the significantly greater presence of gunflints (5) across the site, for what it entails in terms of access to guns and its military implications. Finally, although based on a small sample, it interesting to point out that while most of Payoungou's slag was smelting slag, all but one of the samples studied in Korop consisted of smithing slag (Campos 2014). These themes will be further explored in Ch. 10, after discussing the ceramics in Ch.8 and the rest of materials encountered in Ch. 9.

CHAPTER 8: LOCALLY PRODUCED CERAMICS

8.1 Introduction:

As the most ubiquitous, enduring, and readily available of archaeological finds, pottery has been a fundamental ingredient in archaeological discussions since the earliest days of the discipline. It has been the backbone of relative dating sequences, a way of evaluating interaction among sites, as well as a cornerstone in discussions about identity, production systems, social relations, exchange networks, and consumption practices. Nevertheless, while clearly one of the most useful tools we have to elucidate many archaeological questions, ceramic interpretation has not been devoid of problems. Once-ubiquitous 'common-sense' practices have been shown to contain inbuilt biases and assumptions which obscured more than they revealed. To avoid repeating these mistakes, it is necessary to be explicit about the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed, and to clearly state both the questions we are asking from ceramic assemblages and how we plan on answering them.

In the case of this particular ceramic assemblage, my goals are three-fold. First, to gain an appraisal of the nature of the pottery in the Upper Casamance and its changes over time and space. Second, to explore the patterns of this variability, in particular the temporal dimensions, to determine whether it can be used as a chronological indicator to pin-down survey assemblages to a historical timeline. Finally, to analyse intra-site variability with respect to possible functional and social structuring criteria that could explain divergences between units. With these considerations and objectives in mind, I now briefly review the main debates, theoretical and practical, in West Africa and more widely, that have shaped my methodology, before defining the methodology itself. I then proceed to describe the ceramic assemblage and to present the results of its analysis for both the excavation and the survey.

Issues of classification

Any analysis is at its root a classification, i.e. a process by which we group things based on similarities and differences among them. This is not particular to archaeology or to science, it is the basic mechanism by which humans make sense of the world: we divide it into manageable, meaningful, comprehensible bits. The difference when it comes to science and systematic research, is that these 'bits'

need to be carefully thought through, precisely described, and justified on the basis of their ability to reveal meaningful associations and directions in our data patterns (Dunnell 1971, 118). In the case of archaeology, this means telling us something about past human populations.

It is important to remember, however, that archaeological classifications are not *real* patterns discovered in empirical reality, but analytical *devices* imposed upon it (Dunnell 1968, 152). With this I do not intend to enter a deeper ontological discussion about the nature of reality and the concepts we use to describe it. Archaeology's general aim is to understand past societies and as such, our 'ultimate reality' is in the first place the social world of the people we are studying; and in the second, the abstract world of cross-cultural comparisons. Since in the absence of indigenous written texts, the former is rarely an unattainable goal, the focus has to be in most cases the focus on generating classificatory tools capable of exploring patterns of technical and stylistic diversity that appear to be meaningful and relevant for understanding past behaviours.

The best method for generating these classifications has been (and still is) a hotly debated topic (see O'Brien & Lyman 2002 for a review). In most areas of the world, the beginnings of systematic classification in ceramic analysis involved the definition of ideal 'types', often further subdivided into 'varieties' (e.g. Kidder & Sheppard 1936; Sabloff & Smith 1969). The type-variety system, as it came to be known, represented a great advance: by defining 'ideal types' (generally a combination of vessel shape, decoration, and other factors) and associating them to particular human groups and periods, it was possible to quickly identify temporal and social changes, as well as connections between sites and regions.

Unfortunately, as it soon became clear (cf. Spaulding 1953b & 1954 for an early critique), type-variety classifications also pose many problems. First of all, they tend to ignore a great deal of variability, for anything that does not fall into identified types is not taken into account (McIntosh 1995b, 5). Secondly, although occasionally types might have sociological meaning, this is not testable in a non-tautological manner (O'Brien & Liman 2002, 40). Thirdly, the construction of the types itself is problematic, and tends to be both unsystematic and *ad hoc* (Cowhill 1988, 326). Furthermore, although initially described as analytical constructs (e.g. Ford & Griffin 1938, 2), given their static nature, once defined the types quickly become reified into empirical realities (Dunnell 1971, 116). This reification has the additional problem of easily leading into 'pots-equals-people' assumptions, which

although not exclusive to type-variety systems, are particularly common in them. Finally, and related to the previous point, once a type has been created, it is quite difficult to adapt it as more evidence becomes available, hence making it a poor tool for gradual refinement.

The most common alternative to the type-variety system, and the one I have chosen to use, is attribute analysis. Instead of assigning artefacts to pre-defined classes, the different factors that characterise sherds are recorded separately, and their distribution is statistically explored in search of non-random associations (Cowhill 1988, 325-6). It is entirely possible that very clear types will emerge out of this analysis, but it is not presupposed, and indeed often not the case, for variation might take many forms, and separate variables might evolve in multiple directions responding to different causes (Mayor 2010, 33). Furthermore, unlike with typological approaches, data recording, classification, and analysis are not conflated, which makes it possible to modify the classification system as new data become available (McIntosh 1995a, 130-1).

Pottery in West African Archaeology

Any study is necessarily shaped and framed by those that came before it. Although the pottery of the Upper Casamance, like its archaeology, had never been studied before, my analysis owes much, both theoretically and substantially, to a wider range of studies conducted in West Africa over the last century, making a short review necessary.

Starting in the colonial period, the first documented collections of archaeological ceramics were characterised by grab samples, uncontrolled excavations, and a preoccupation for culture areas, and *fossiles directeurs* (Richard 2007, 509). This era served to document the diversity and similarities of ceramic traditions, both new and old, of the subcontinent, albeit at a very superficial level and with an extremely uneven geographical coverage. The advent of radiocarbon dating in the 1950s reduced the perceived need for chronological typologies and reinforced the focus on the definition of broad 'ceramic families' (*familles céramiques)*, equated with discrete cultural and ethnic entities (Richard 2007, 510).

Since the 1980s, however, and due to a combination of a proliferation of ethnoarchaeological studies and the pioneering work of Susan McIntosh (McIntosh 1995a; McIntosh & McIntosh 1980) and others, the analysis of archaeological ceramics has received much more rigorous attention, leading to substantial

conceptual, analytical, and methodological advances. Paramount amongst these are the demonstrated absence of straightforward links between artefact styles and cultural identities, the suppleness of African social boundaries and identities over time and space, as well as the complex mutations affecting craft production (Richard 2010, 511). Ethnoarchaeological studies have explored the social and cultural relevance of stylistic variations and decoration (Gosselain & Livingstone-Smith 1995; Gosselain 2011b); clay selection and processing (Gosselain 2008a), tools (Gosselain 2010), and firing practices (Gosselain 1992), as well as the wider links between ethnicity and ceramics (Mayor 2010). Technological approaches to the study of past material culture have shown how technologies are dynamic systems bringing material objects and human actors together in networks of action, knowledge, social and cultural structures, implicating both individual agency and sociocultural structures (Gokee 2012, 500).

On the methodological front, the widespread advocation and application of attribute analysis (e.g. Arazi 2005; Gokee 2011; MacDonald 2011; McIntosh 1995a; Richard 2007) has enabled a much more nuanced understanding of the nature and significance of change; while the emphasis on the need for a standardised terminology (McIntosh 1995b; Haour *et al.* 2010) is setting the base for future interregional comparative endeavours.

8.2 Methodology

Undertaking a pottery analysis in an area for which no prior information is available, based on a reasonable, but necessarily limited sample, obviously poses some challenges; but also offers great opportunities. Referring to her work at Jenne-Jeno, Susan McIntosh (1995a, 130) wrote 'I have enjoyed two distinct advantages: the lack of any existing pottery classification or culture-historical typology (...) and access to the abundant literature of the past twenty-five years that has criticized traditional typological approaches'. To these I must add a third advantage, which is the ever-growing literature on critical systematic ceramic studies in West Africa, pioneered to a large extent by Susan McIntosh herself, and described earlier on. In the methodology that I now outline, I have tried to incorporate the lessons, both positive and negative, learnt from these previous debates and experiences.

Collection and recording methodology

The project included two modes of pottery retrieval: excavation and surface survey. For the former, all pottery encountered was systematically collected and bagged. All the soil was sieved using a 1cm mesh, so sherds under this size were not retrieved. During survey, surface pottery was in most cases so scarce that no sampling strategy was required. In the very few instances where amounts were more substantial, rims and larger body sherds were prioritised, to a maximum of one full 30x40cm bag, and ensuring an even coverage of the different areas of the site.

All bagged material from survey and excavation was subsequently washed and air-dried in the field lab. Sherds were then sorted into body and feature sherds (consisting entirely of rims, since no handles or bases were retrieved). Sherds under $3cm^2$ were discarded, and those that could be seen to belong together (regardless of whether the cut was fresh or old) were counted as one. Body sherds were arranged into groups with the same decoration and temper, and counted. Rims were recorded individually, and a larger range of variables was taken into account.

As it has been repeatedly noted, variable selection is the most crucial dimension of analysis building (Richard 2007, 518; McIntosh 1995a, 131). From the potentially infinite range of recordable variables, researchers need to select those that they expect to yield relevant information; and in areas like the Upper Casamance, where no prior information exists, this search for significant variability must be conducted from scratch. There are, however, general indicators that can be used as guidelines. Decorative variables and rim forms, for instance, tend to be helpful to elucidate space-time relationships, while elements like rim diameter and vessel size can illuminate functional matters; and temper, firing, and forming techniques may reveal relevant information regarding networks of production and distribution (McIntosh 1995a, 131).

Given the exploratory nature of my analysis, I chose to record a multi-dimensional dataset, including a variety of decorative, functional, and technological attributes. This system is based upon the one pioneered by Susan McIntosh and which has been commonly employed in West Africa since the 1980s (see discussion above). The variables/attributes recorded were:

Body sherds:

Number of sherds: quantity of sherds with a given temper and decoration.

Temper: non plastic inclusions added by the potter in order to increase clay workability and decrease the occurrence of fracturing during firing. They can also modify the vessel's properties, such as colour, strength, and/or thermal resistance. The temper was recorded by observation of a fresh break, using a magnifying glass when necessary. The different components encountered are described in Fig. 8.1.

Grog	crushed fired clay, generally from old pots		**Lateritic Grit**	crushed lateritic rock	
Sand	large grains of quartz		**Chaff**	vegetable matter, recognisable by the empty 'casts'	

Fig. 8.1 Temper components

Surface treatment:

- *Slip:* a fluid suspension of clay (and/or other materials) in water that, if applied before firing to form a thin coating, produces a shiny surface when fired (Rice 2005, 149). Although it can have several tonalities, all instances documented in this case were dark red, indicating the use of iron-rich clays (Gosselain 2008b, 38) or the addition of crushed/ground colourants such as hematite or ocher (K. MacDonald, *pers. comm*).

- *Burnish:* treatment by which the surface is finished by rubbing back and forth a small hard object, in order to produce a surface luster through the compacting and reorientating of fine clay particles (Rice 2005, 138).

Fig.8.2 Surface treatments

Decorative motif(s): includes all those techniques that enhance or modify the appearance of the vessel after primary shaping. They can be made with a range of tools, modified and applied in a variety of ways, as summarised in Table 8.1. The tools and motions encountered were the following:

Tools:

- *Cord*: fine twisted fibres of vegetal origin (Haour *et al* 2010,40). Some authors (Richard 2007, McIntosh1995a) refer to it as 'twine'.
- *Strip*: flat fibres of vegetal origin (Haour *et al* 2010, 40).
- *Inflorescences*: largely from the acanthus family, in particular the geni *Barleria* and *Blepharis* (K. MacDonald, *pers. comm*)
- *Comb*: toothed or serrated hard-edged tool.
- *Stick/stylus*: sharp implement.
- *Mat/fabric*: weaved fibers forming a coarse textile.
- *Added clay.*

Motions:

- *Rouletting:* rolling a tool along the surface, leaving a continuous impressed design (Rice 2005, 145).
- *Impression*: single or repeated imprint of a tool on the clay surface (Rice 2005, 144-5)
- *Incision*: cutting lines into the surface of a vessel with a pointed instrument (Rice 2005, 146).
- *Punctation/Stabbing*: depressions punched into wet clay, usually with a sharp or pointed instrument (Rice 2005, 145).

Table 8.1 Decoration motifs

Form of alteration	Tool	Tool treatment	Motion	Code
Subtractive elements	Cord	twisted cord	rouletted	TCR
			impressed	TCI
		multiple twisted cord	rouletted	MTCR
		cord-wrapped cord/stick	rouletted	CWR
			impressed	CWI
			impressed	MCWR
		braided cord	rouletted	BCR
		knotted cord	impressed	KCI
	Strip	folded strip	rouletted	FSR
	Inflorescences		rouletted	NR
	Comb		stabbed	SC
	Stick/stylus		impressed	SI
			incised:channel	Ch
			incised: waves	SI-1
			incised: other	SI-4
			punctuate: triangular	PNC-1
			punctuate:round	PNC-2
	Mat/fabric		impressed	FI
Additive elements	Extra clay	Plain bands		AP3
		Notched bands		AP4
		Pinched bands		AP5
		Flat nubbins		AP1

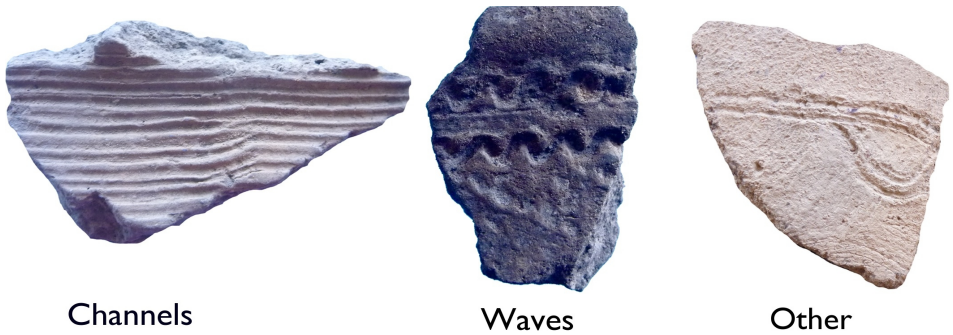


Fig. 8.3 Incised decorations. Left-to-right, sherds from PYG B-4, PYG F-9, PYG B-6)

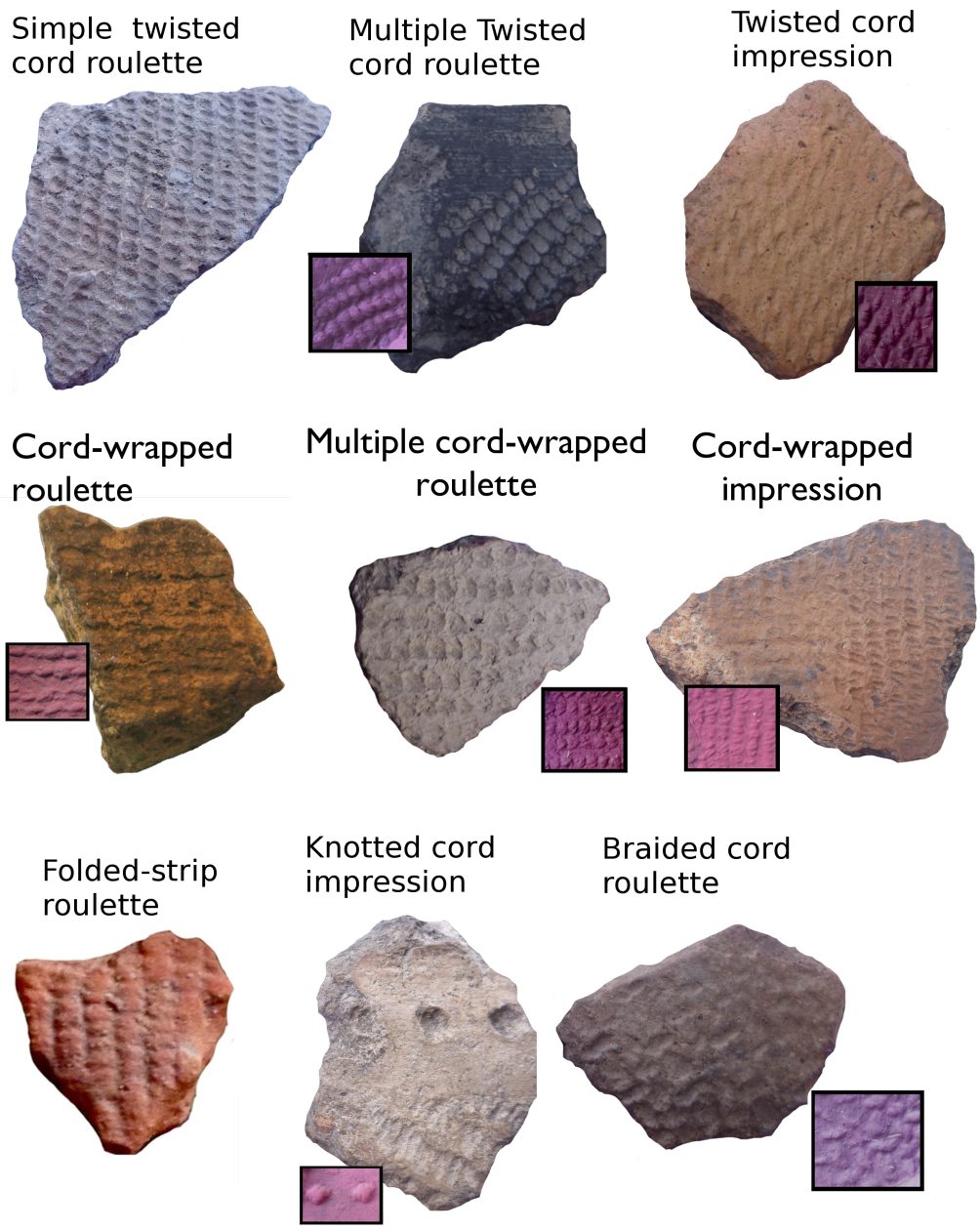


Fig. 8.4 Cord decorations. Left-to-right, top-to-bottom, sherds from KRP A-7, KRP A-2, KRP B-14, Korop surface, KRP A-2, Korop surface, PYG E-18, Korop surface, Korop surface, PYG B-4, PYG E-16, PYG B-8, PYG F-6)

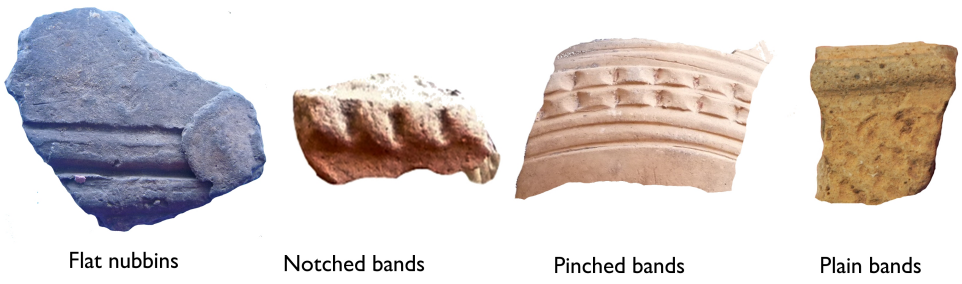


Fig. 8.5 Additive motifs. Left-to-right, sherds from PYG B-4, PYG E-16, PYG B-8, PYG F-6.

Fig. 8.6 Non-cord impressions and punctate decorations. Left-to-right, sherds from Koumambouré surface, PYG B-8,PYG B-5, Pachukiel surface, Korop surface.

Fig. 8.7 Vegetal inflorescence roulettes. Left-to-right, sherds from KRP A-3, PYG B-5

Rims:

Because of their greater potential for illustrating vessel form, a larger number of variables was recorded than for body sherds. These included:

Maximum thickness: measured with callipers. The thickness of the walls is related to the size of the container and thus can give clues regarding the vessel's function.

Minimum thickness: as above.

Rim angle: the angle was determined by placing the lip of the rim perpendicular against a hard horizontal surface (which represents the plane of the vessel mouth), and then rocking it until a position was found where no gaps were visible between the lip and the plane (which corresponds to the position of the rim in the original vessel). The angle was then coded with the aid of the drawing in Fig. 8.8.

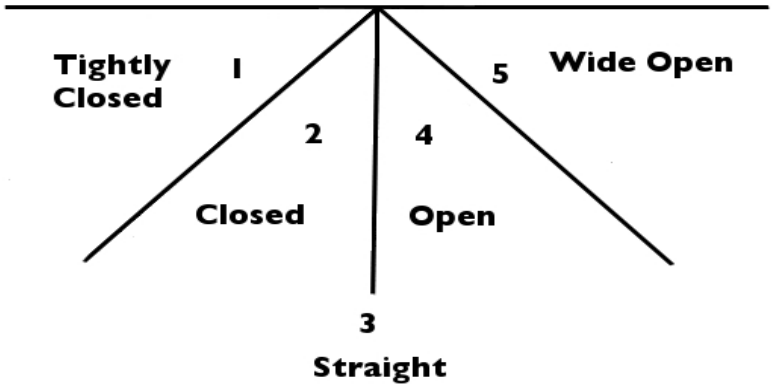


Fig.8.8 Rim angle coding system

Rim type: the shape of each individual rim was recorded, drawn, and numbered. Four general types were identified, each with multiple subtypes:

- *Simple rims*: straight, without inflected contours or terminal thickening (Fig. 8.9)
- *Everted rims*: with a outward and/or upward collar inflection (Figs. 8.11, 8.12)
- *Thickened rims*: extra clay has been added to enlarge the width of the lip (Figs. 8.13, 8.14)
- *Y rims*: wide rim with a depression for lid support (Fig. 8.10)

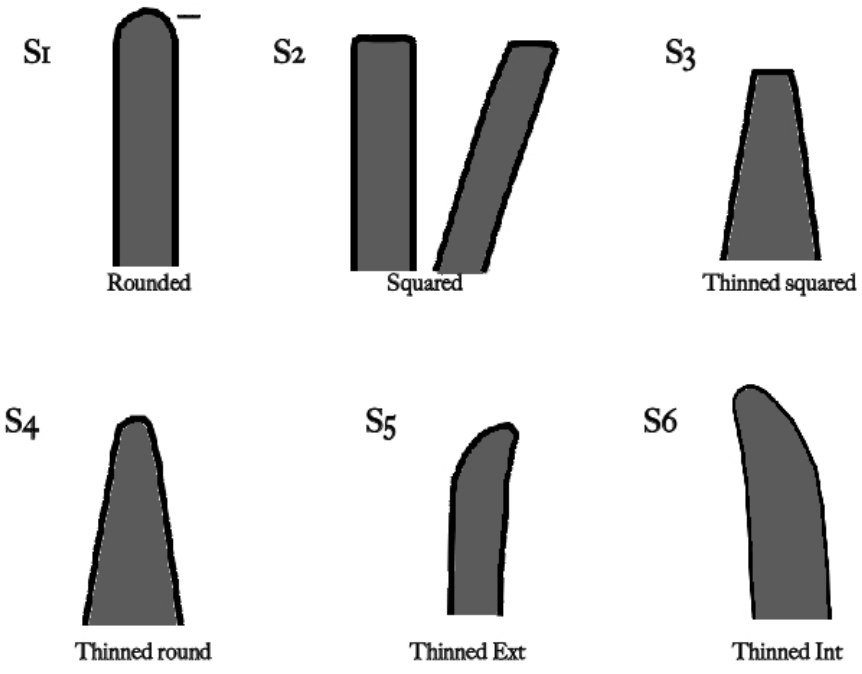


Fig. 8.9 Simple rims

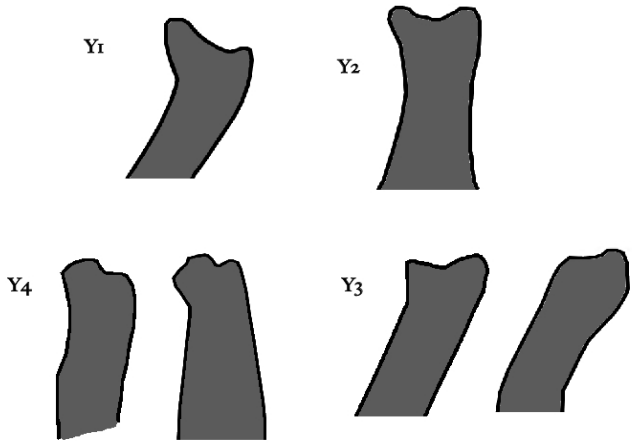


Fig. 8.10 Y rims

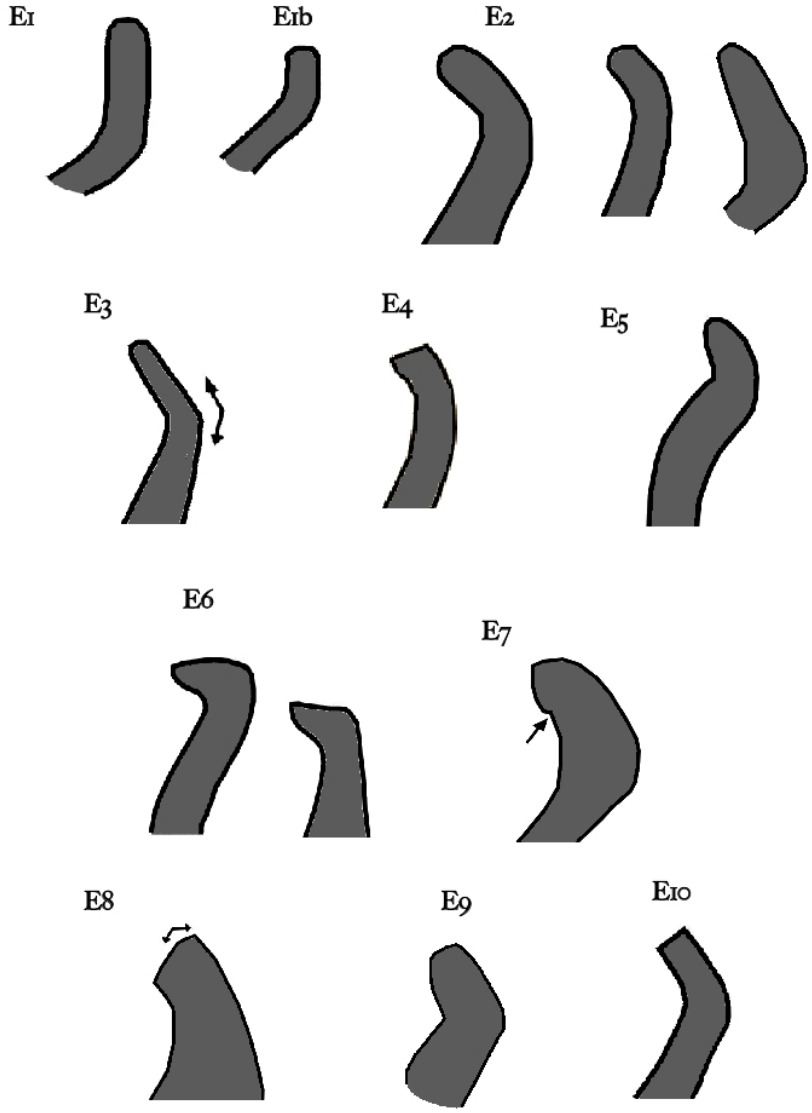


Fig. 8.11 Everted rims (1)

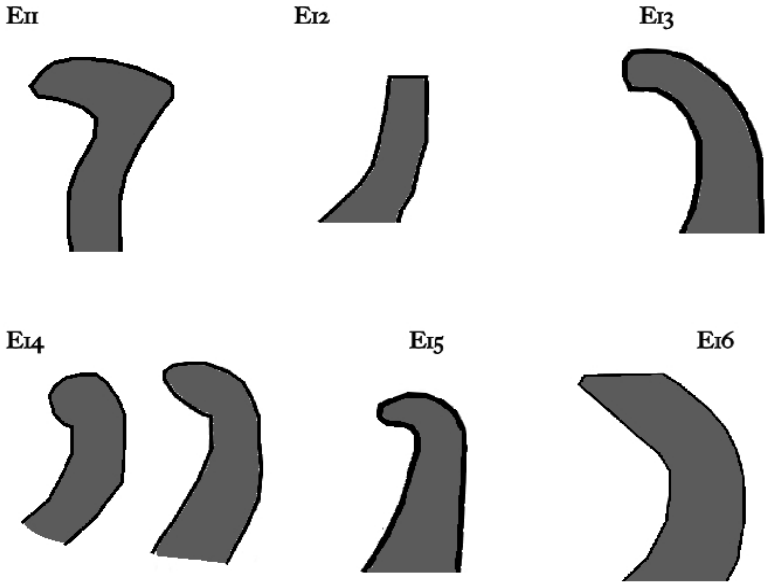


Fig. 8.12 Everted rims(2)

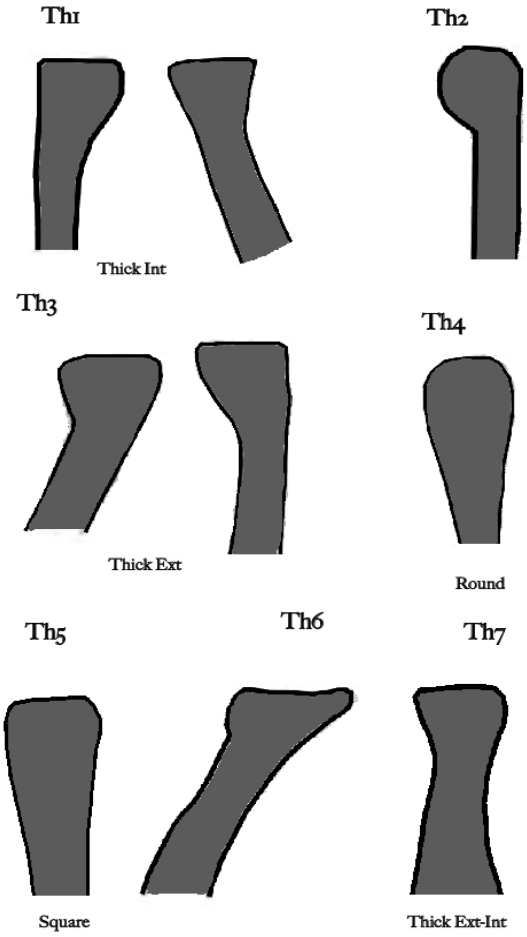


Fig.8.13 Thickened rims (1)

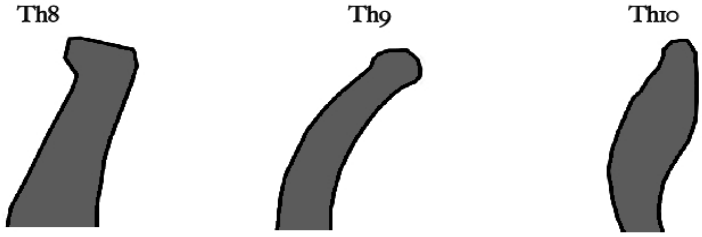


Fig. 8.14 Thickened rims (2)

Rim diameter: external diameter of the vessel rim, measured on the available arc (only on lips of over 5cm)

Temper: See above.

Motif(s): See above.

Motif(s) location(s): placement of a given motif in the vessel, consisting of six different categories: i=interior, C=collar, L=lip, N=neck, UB=upper body (2cm from collar), LW=lower body, B=base.

Firing core: the final stage of pottery production involves firing the vessel to permanently transform the crystalline structure of the clay (Gokee 2011, 546). The proportions of oxygen, carbon monoxide, and carbon dioxide in the firing atmosphere leave permanent colour variations visible in the sherd cross-section, which were recorded using the scheme in Fig. 8.15 (after Rye 1981).

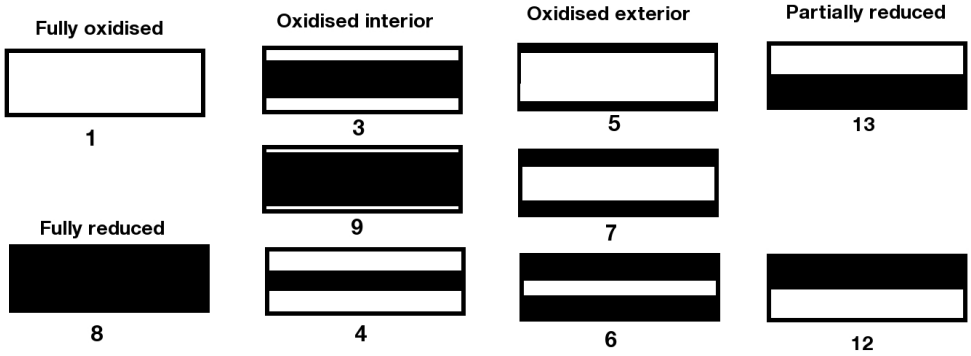


Fig. 8.15 Schematic firing core classification

Analytical Methodology

Having established the recovery procedures, the recording system, and the variables worth recording, it is necessary to devise a methodology to make sense of the data and detect relevant patterns in them. The first stage of the analysis will focus exclusively on the excavated material, which is more extensive, formed by unmixed chronological samples, and can be stratigraphically connected to absolute dates from both radiocarbon and datable artefacts.

Since the purpose of this exercise is to understand ceramic variability and what it can tell us about past populations of the Upper Casamance, it is necessary to briefly reflect on the drivers of such variation. There are many reasons why people decide to make and decorate pots in certain ways and not in others, as ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies have widely demonstrated. Unfortunately many (identity, function, personal taste, availability, gender, occupation, status) are not just beyond the scope of this analysis, but also above the possibilities of the current dataset. My focus has therefore been on the basic axes of time and space, i.e. determining which factors are chronologically sensitive, and whether any significant patterns of inter-site and (to a lesser extent) intra-site variability can be observed.

The study will draw from three overlapping datasets, resulting from the recording methodology: the largest, consisting of all the recorded sherds, includes data on provenance, temper, and decoration; the second, formed only by rims, incorporates information on firing core, thickness, and motif location. The final and smallest, restricted to the larger rims (those with lips of over 5cm), also includes information about rim diameter. Although the three datasets, and in particular the first two, will in some instances be used in combination, the different samples they are drawn from and its implications in terms of representativity will always be taken into account. Having analysed the excavated pottery, and established which factors are chronologically, spatially, and functionally significant, I will use this information to analyse the survey material.

The analysis of each data-set will consist of two stages: an initial univariate assessment of the variables from both sites, followed by a Correspondence Analysis (CA) to reveal further patterns of association. CA is one of the most commonly used multidimensional statistical techniques in archaeology, as it helps to reduce the dimensionality of complex data into two-dimensional representations showing trends and groupings. It thus presents the advantage of exploring the structure of the

data without presupposing or imposing any patterns (such as seriations or clusters), which is ideal for an assemblage like this, for which nothing was known in advance. Furthermore, contrary to other techniques like Principal Component Analysis, CA is suited to the analysis of both categorical and numerical data, which is particularly useful in an assemblage where presence/absence data might be as relevant as numeric measurements (Shennan 1997, 308). The analysis will be conducted in R and to facilitate interpretation, its results will be plotted as scatter graphs displaying both cases (horizons) and variables (proportions of different tempers, decoration, and rims). These plots will help to measure degrees of similarity between cases as well as to identify the variables defining them. Since univariate analyses showed the two sites followed similar but not identical ceramic progressions, the CA analyses will beconducted separately for each site.

8.3 The Assemblage

A total of 9050 sherds was collected, of which an 82.29% came from the excavation, and the rest from the survey. In both cases, the proportion of rims was just below 10%. Due to the depositional nature of the soil regime (with almost no erosion), surface pottery was limited to cultivated areas, which greatly limited the collection and biased the sample towards sites near currently occupied villages. Out of the 60 sites identified during the survey, only 21 had surface pottery, and out of these only 18 had sufficient amounts (20 sherds) to be included in the analysis (cf. Table 8.3).

Regarding the excavated assemblage, the majority of the sherds (70.51%) came from the site of Payoungou, and the rest from Korop (see Table 8.2). A substantial proportion of the excavated sherds (29%) came from rubbish pits, and 10% were directly associated with built structures. This second number, however, is very likely an underrepresentation given the poor preservation of architectural remains (see Ch.6-7). The large majority of pottery came from contexts associated to the Late Kaabu (46.35%) and Fulaadu (28.05%) periods, as defined in Ch. 6. Of the rest, 10.90% came from Early Kaabu contexts, a mere 3.45% from pre-Kaabu contexts, and 11.24% from horizons which could not be dated by C14 dates and chronologically diagnostic finds.

Table 8.2 Sherds from excavation

	Body sherds	Rims	Total sherds	Weight (kg)
PYG-A	278	24	302	2.56
PYG-B	958	135	1093	21.72
PYG-C	333	17	350	1.27
PYG-D	49	2	51	0.24
PYG-E	631	38	669	6.49
PYG-F	1756	170	1926	29.13
PYG-G	808	51	859	6.57
Total PYG	*4813*	*437*	*5250*	*67,98*
KRP-A	611	70	681	8.6
KRP-B	386	47	433	3.34
KRP-C	262	12	274	1.74
KRP-D	590	18	608	2.69
KRP-E	192	8	200	1.19
Total KRP	*2041*	*155*	*2196*	*17.56*
TOTAL	***6854***	***592***	***7446***	***85,54***

Table 8.3 Sherds from survey

Site	Body sherds	Rims	Total sherds
UC-16	61	7	68
UC-17	85	6	91
UC-19	33	1	34
UC-20	11	3	14
UC-23	62	13	75
UC-24	153	5	158
UC-25	47	10	57
UC-27	77	5	82
UC-32	22	2	24
UC-33	188	9	197
UC-34	27	1	28
UC-36	95	12	107
UC-41	5	1	6
UC-42	34	8	42
UC-43	81	14	95
UC-53	11	0	11
UC-54	40	10	50
UC-55	251	34	285
UC-56	21	3	24
UC-57	18	1	19
UC-58	129	9	138
Total	**1451**	**154**	**1605**

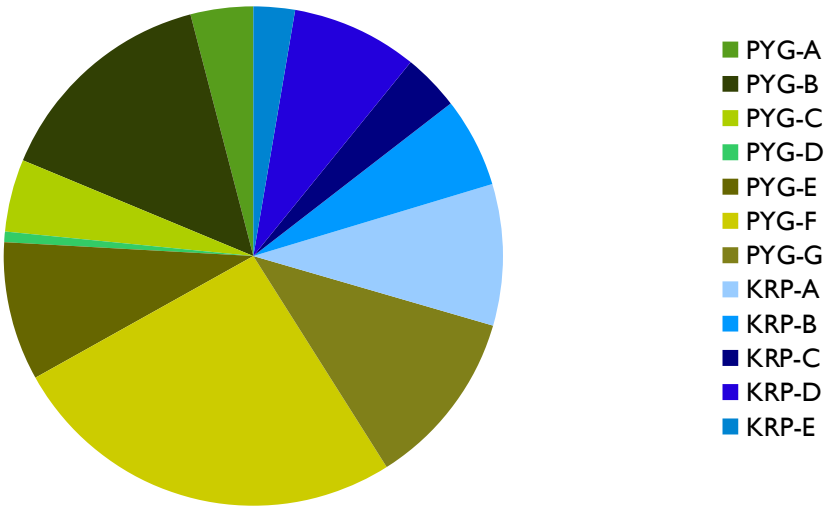


Fig. 8.16 Excavated sherds by unit

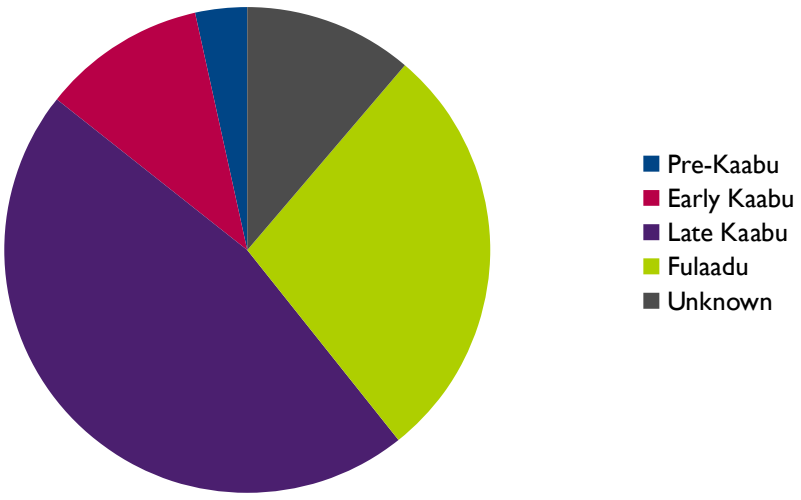


Fig. 8.17 Excavated sherds by period

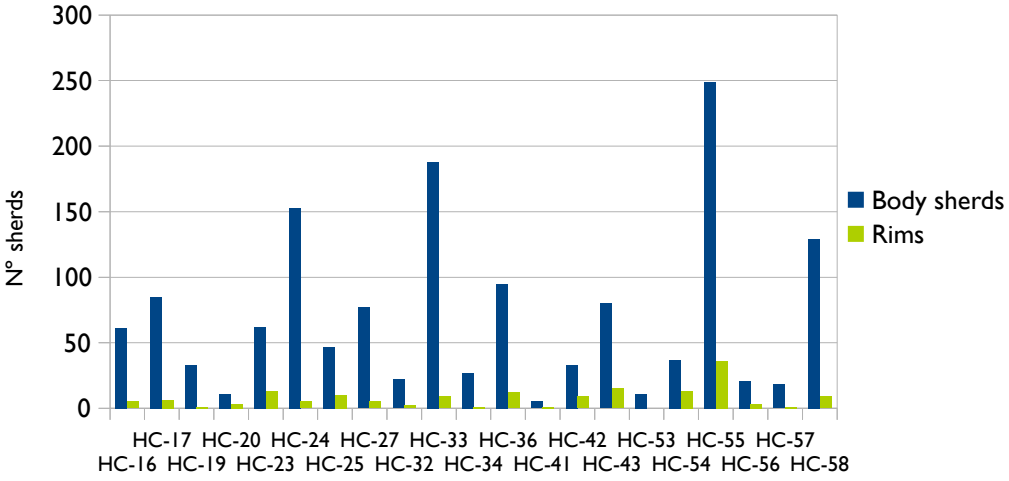


Fig 8.18 Total numbers of sherds from survey

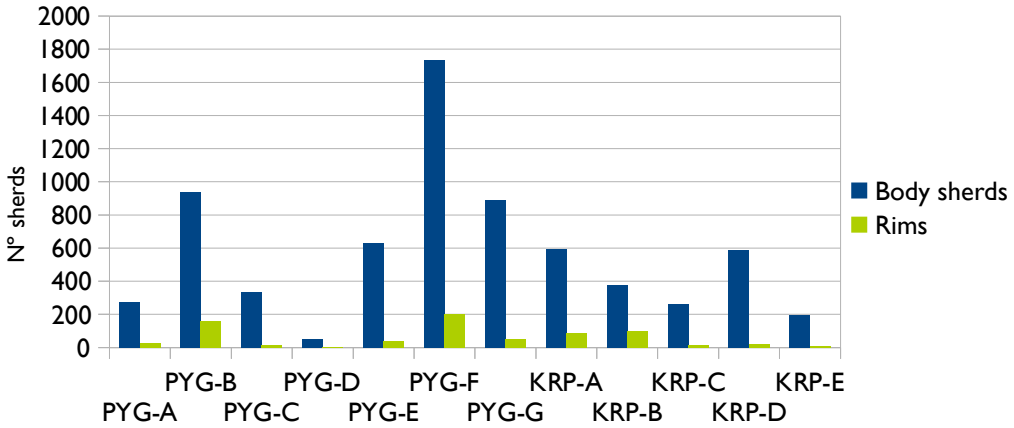


Fig.8.19 Total numbers of sherds from excavation

8.4- Analysis: the excavated material

In this section, I explore the variability of the excavated dataset. I start by looking at individual variables and their distribution, then proceed to examine patterns of association between variables, and the possible reasons that could account for them. My principal focus is on establishing patterns of temporal variation, which could be used to date the survey sites, but I also evaluate the possibility of non-chronological reasons for inter-site and intra-site variation.

Distribution of factors: univariate analysis

As the excavation was based on a Single Context Recording system, the raw data for the ceramic analysis defined the provenance of sherds in terms of their excavation context (as defined by MOLAS 1994, 1). Therefore, it is entirely possible that by grouping contexts into chronologically meaningful periods (following the criteria outlined in Table 6.2), some variability might have been obscured. To rectify this potential blurring, I have considered the Standard Deviation (SD) within each group for each individual variable. Where the SD was of a similar or higher range than the variation, that particular variable was dismissed. I have not included the SD numbers in the in-text tables to facilitate the reading.

Decoration and temper

As the two best documented variables, temper and decoration provide us with the strongest tools to explore variability within the assemblage. This analysis includes the data from both rims and body sherds, i.e. a total of 7446 sherds.

Pre-Kaabu ceramics

Although the sample of sherds associated with this period is rather small (77), it is very distinctive. Characterised by very coarse lateritic grog temper, consistent orange colour, and a restricted decorative range (all sherds are either plain or decorated with Folded Strip Roulette), this recurrent attribute cluster will be referred to as Orange Gritty Ware (OGW). Although 86% of sherds identified as OGW came from Pre-Kaabu contexts, OGW was also occasionally encountered in later periods, although in much smaller numbers (cf. Table 8.4)

Table 8.4: Presence of OGW in excavated horizons

Site	Unit	Horizon	Quantity	% of horizon	% of total OGW	Period
PYG	C	A	7	13.73%	8.75%	Late Kaabu/Fulaadu
PYG	C	B	24	100.00%	30.00%	Pre-Kaabu
PYG	D	A	16	43.24%	20.00%	Pre-Kaabu
PYG	E	A	9	81.82%	11.25%	Pre-Kaabu
PYG	F	B	1	20.00%	1.25%	Late Kaabu
PYG	G	A	1	16.67%	1.25%	Late Kaabu
PYG	G	B	1	16.67%	1.25%	Late Kaabu
KRP	E	B	1	1.18%	1.25%	Late Kaabu
KRP	E	A	8	19.51%	10.00%	Pre-Kaabu
KRP	C	A	9	11.84%	11.25%	Pre-Kaabu?
KRP	C	B+C	3	3.95%	3.75%	Late Kaabu

Orange gritty ware

-Temper: coarse lateritic grit

-Paste colour: orange

-Decoration: plain or folded strip roulette

Fig. 8.20 Orange gritty ware

Early Kaabu onwards

For the three remaining periods, the pottery appears at first glance very homogeneous in both sites, but a closer statistical analysis reveals some differences, summarised in Table 8.5 . In terms of purely spatial (i.e. consistent over time) differences, the proportion of cord is 3% to 9% higher in Korop throughout the sequence, while sand-based tempers are more common in Payoungou (between 11% and 30%). There are no fabric impressions, knotted cord roulettes or braided cord roulettes in Payoungou, and no twisted cord impressions in Korop, but these decorations are rare enough that their absence could be due to sampling issues.

Regarding chronological differences, while the use of chaff as temper is more common in Payoungou during the early Kaabu period, this trend reverses in subsequent periods (see Table 8.7) . Except for channels, which occur on both sites, incised decorations are exclusive to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu horizons of

Payoungou, and completely absent in Korop. There are also chronological variations common to both sites, like the presence of CWR and KI only in Late Kaabu horizons, and the appearance of punctate decors only from Late Kaabu onwards.

Table 8.5 Chronologically sensitive variables and their proportions in Payoungou and Korop

	Early Kaabu		Late Kaabu		Fulaadu	
	PYG	KRP	PYG	KRP	PYG	KRP
CWR	-	-	0,19%	0,22%	-	-
KI	-	-	0,03%	0,11%	-	-
KCR	-	-	-	0,11%	-	-
allcord	3,55%	11,73%	4,98%	14,24%	4,47%	7,62%
SI-1	2,07%	-	0,56%	-	1,92%	-
CDR	-	-	0,25%	-	0,06%	-
SI43	-	-	0,28%	-	0,06%	-
SI5	-	-	0,34%	-	0,32%	-
SI4	-	-	0,13%	-	0,06%	-
SI41	-	-	-	-	0,19%	-
SI42	-	-	-	-	0,83%	-
SI-7	-	-	0,03%	-	0,06%	-
SI8	-	-	0,03%	-	-	-
PNC	-	-	0,19%	0,22%	0,38%	0,37%
API	-	-	-	-	0,06%	0,19%
grog only	9,45%	61,20%	66,03%	57,88%	61,98%	59,40%
grog-sand	66,67%	26,64%	30,36%	18,32%	28,97%	15,79%
grog-chaff	5,81%	0,77%	0,31%	14,24%	2,57%	8,83%
total chaff	14,98%	0,77%	0,50%	17,85%	6,10%	9,02%
grit-sand	0,92%	-	0,08%	-	0,45%	-
sand only	3,67%	27,03%	0,27%	0,58%	0,77%	0,38%
total sand	84,10%	54.05%	32,13%	21,24%	33,14%	21,99%

Rims

A total of 592 rims was retrieved from excavation, including 437 rims from Payoungou, and 155 rims from Korop. Sets under 20 rims were not taken into consideration to avoid the potential distortion of unrepresentative samples. In the temporal analysis, this meant excluding the rims from the pre-Kaabu horizons in Payoungou (8 sherds) and the Early Kaabu contexts in Korop (15 sherds), as well as the 11 rims associated with undated contexts. Spatially, four units could not be taken into account, namely KRP C (12 sherds), KRP D (18), KRP E (8), PYG C (17) and PYG D(2). The rims from these groups, however, were taken into consideration as part of larger units of analysis, such as site or overall sample.

Rim types

In terms of the four general rim types previously defined (simple, everted, thickened, and Y-rims), the proportions are constant over time for each site (see Fig.8.22) and very similar for the different units (see Fig 8.23). The most common type for both sites is everted rims, followed by simple and thickened rims, and a small number of Y-rims . While the proportion of Y-rims is almost identical for both sites (4%), everted rims are a 20% more common in Payoungou, and simple and thickened rims occur more frequently (6% and 12%, respectively) in Korop.

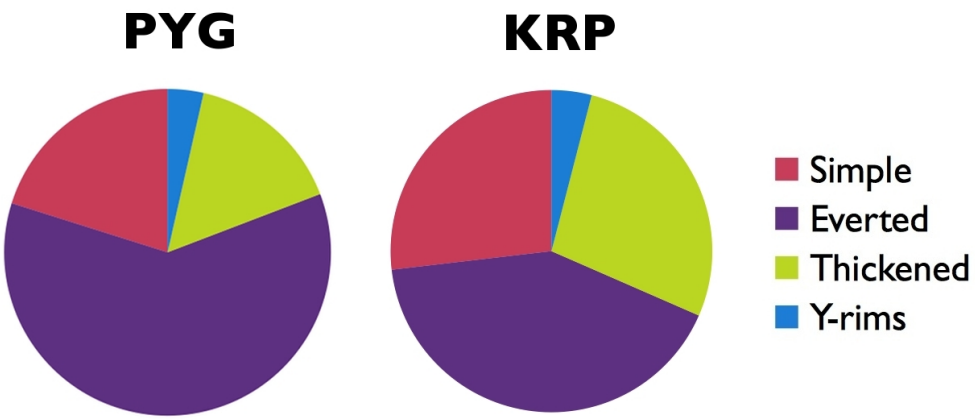


Fig. 8.21 Proportion of rim forms in each site

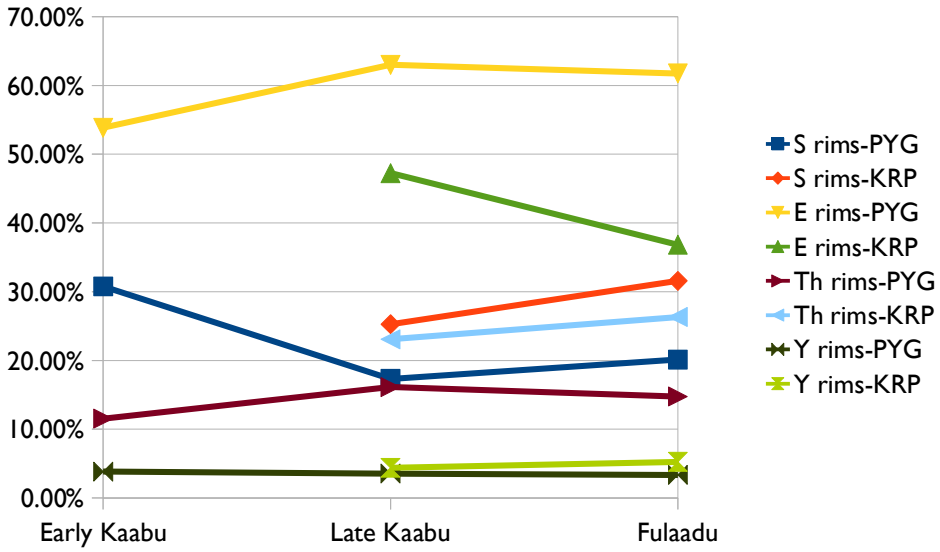


Fig.8.22 Proportion of rim forms in each site by period

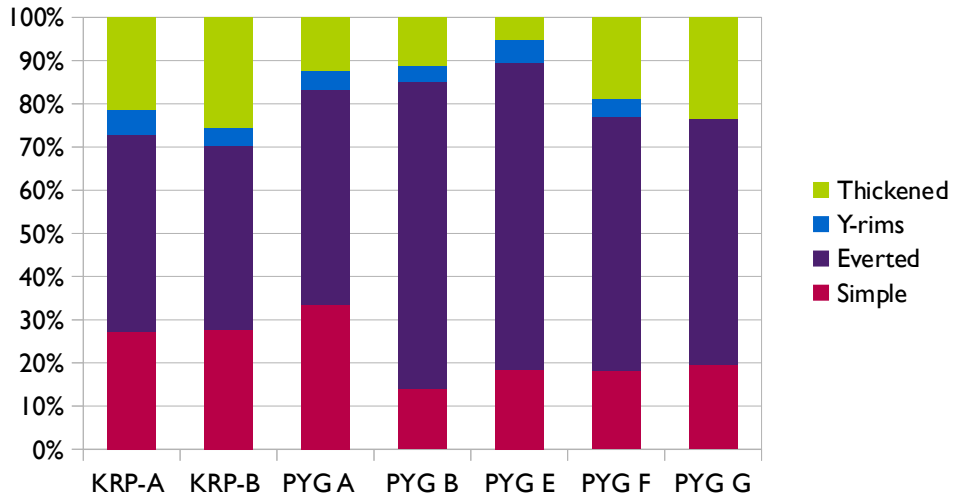


Fig.8.23 Proportion of rim forms by unit

Table 8.6 Chronologically sensitive rim types

	Early Kaabu		Late Kaabu		Fulaadu	
	PYG	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**
S2	7,69%	21,43%	9,52%	24,00%	12,08%	22,58%
S3	-	-	1,59%	-	-	-
S4	-	-	1,06%	1,33%	0,67%	3,23%
E3	-	-	0,92%	1,33%	-	-
E4	-	-	0,46%	-	0,67%	-
E6	-	-	5,16%	5,33%	0,67%	-
E8	-	-	0,45%	1,33%	0,67%	-
E9	-	-	1,59%	1,33%	0,67%	-
E10	-	-	0,46%	2,67%	-	-
E11	-	-	0,53%	-	-	-
E13	-	-	3,21%	-	1,34%	-
E14	-	-	1,38%	-	0,67%	-
E15	-	-	0,53%	-	-	-
E16	-	-	2,65%	-	2,68%	-
Y3	-	-	1,01%	-	1,34%	-
Th1	-	-	1,01%	4,00%	0,67%	3,23%
Th4	-	-	0,59%	1,33%	0,67%	-

This relative homogeneity, however, disappears when we look at the popularity of the specific rim types over time. As illustrated in Table 8.6, the diversity of rim forms is significantly greater in Payoungou, in particular for the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, but it is necessary to bear in mind that Payoungou's sample is also notably larger, which could account for some of the diversity. For both sites, Late Kaabu is the period with greatest diversity of rim forms, followed by Fulaadu. All rim types present in Korop are also present in Payoungou, but the opposite is not the case.

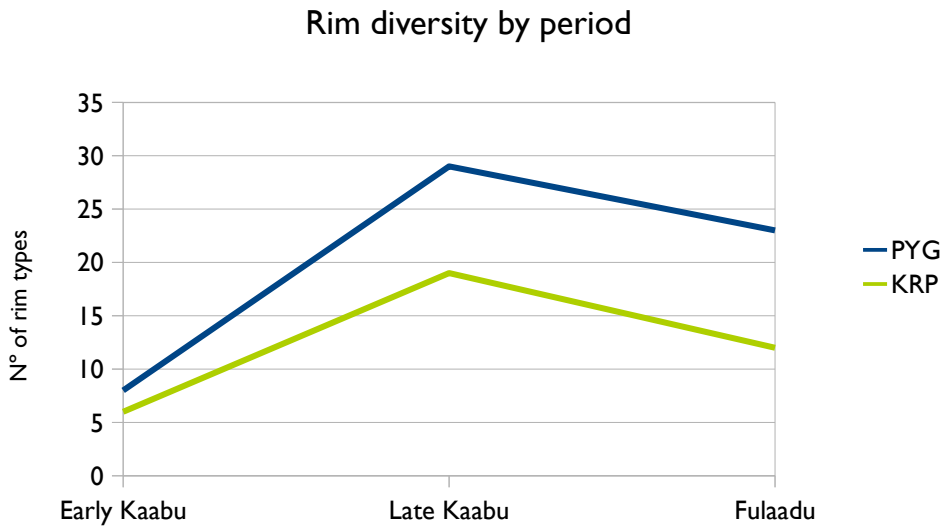


Fig. 8.24 Rim diversity by period

Firing cores

Regarding the nature of the firing atmosphere, again the proportions are quite similar for both sites, except for fully oxidised cores (which are a 12% higher in Korop), and profiles with an oxidised interior (which are a 14% more popular in Payoungou).

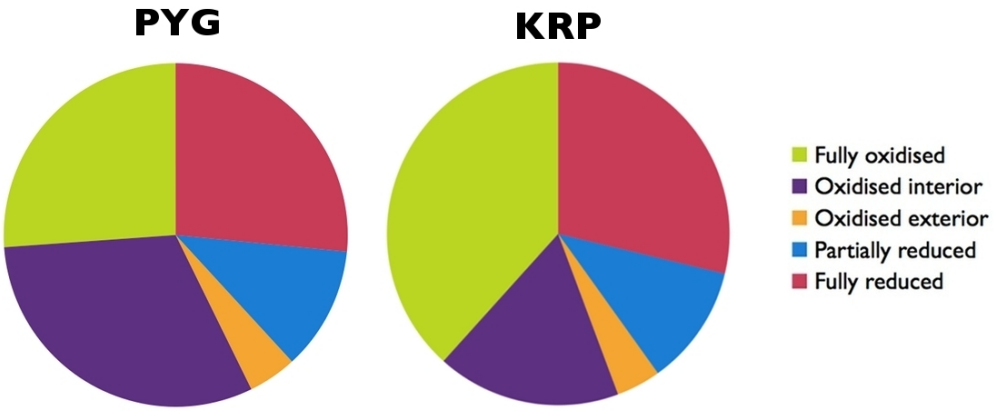


Fig. 8.25 Firing cores by site

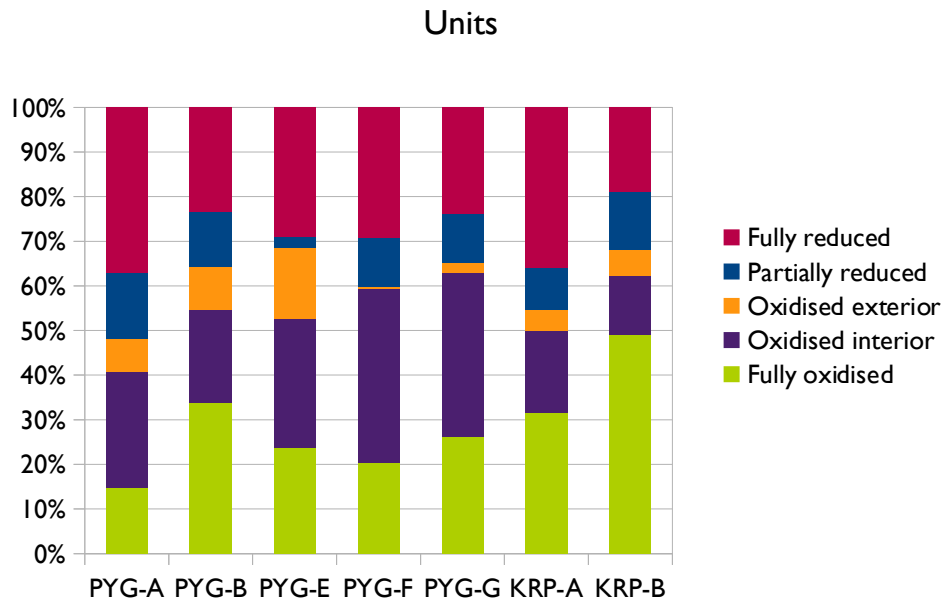


Fig.8.26 Firing cores by unit

Table 8.7 Firing cores by site and period

	Fully oxidised		Oxidised interior		Oxidised exterior		Partially reduced		Fully reduced		Total PYG	Total KRP
	PYG	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**	**PYG**	**KRP**		
Pre-Kaabu	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	8	0
%	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*N/A*		
Early Kaabu	4	8	8	1	2	0	4	1	11	5	29	15
%	*13,79%*	*N/A*	*27,59%*	*N/A*	*6,90%*	*N/A*	*13,79%*	*N/A*	*37,93%*	*N/A*		
Late Kaabu	63	41	85	18	7	6	41	14	67	31	263	110
%	*23,95%*	*37,27%*	*32,32%*	*16,36%*	*2,66%*	*5,45%*	*15,59%*	*12,73%*	*25,48%*	*28,18%*		
Fulaadu	56	15	55	10	12	1	11	4	48	12	182	42
%	*30,77%*	*35,71%*	*30,22%*	*23,81%*	*6,59%*	*2,38%*	*6,04%*	*9,52%*	*26,37%*	*28,57%*		
Total	126	64	150	29	22	7	56	19	128	48	482	167

Thickness

Although rim thicknesses range from 2 to 33 cm, most rims (84%) are within the 6-12mm bracket. As shown by Fig. 8.27 and 8.28, the distribution of average thickness is almost identical for all periods, but there are two different trends for individual units: those with a majority (65-72%) of thick rims (9-15mm), namely PYG A, PYG G, KRP A and KRP B; and those where thick rims account for less than 42%, including PYG B, E, and F. The units at Korop also appear to have a larger proportion of very thick (>15mm) rims, but since due to total numbers only 2 out of the 5 units at Korop could be taken into account, it is problematic to extend this observation to the rest of the site.

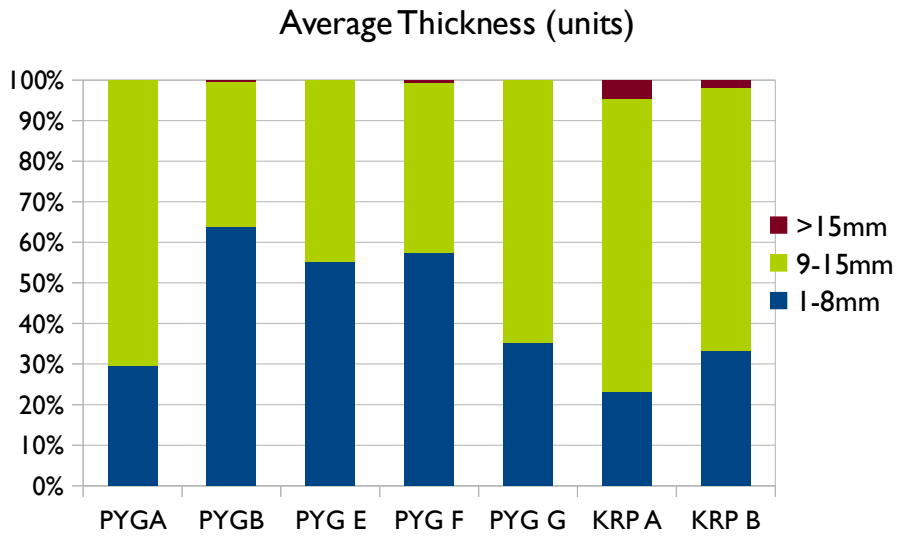


Fig. 8.27 Average thickness by unit

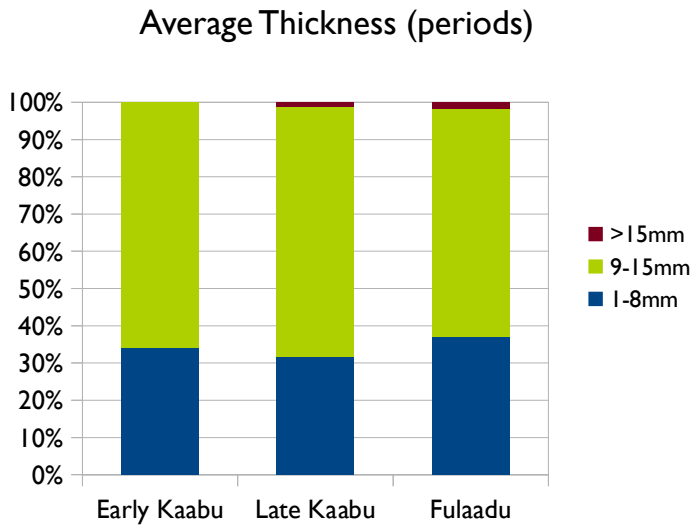


Fig. 8.28 Average thickness by period.

Correspondence Analysis

In addition to looking at single variables and their distributions, I have also conducted a Correspondence Analysis (CA) to explore possible relations between variables (different ceramic attributes) and cases (specific horizons or sites). To facilitate interpretation, the CA results are presented here as two-dimensional scatter plots, that show degrees of similarity between both cases (horizons) and variables (temper, rims, decoration) expressed as distances. The codes used for the variables are the same as in the univariate analysis, as listed in pags. 260-8. The CA for Payoungou (Fig. 8.29) confirms the conclusions of the univariate analysis, in terms of the distinctiveness of the pre-Kaabu horizons, the gradual nature of change over time, and the similarities between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu assemblages.

Overall, the CA plot reflects a chronological ordering of horizons over the horizontal axis (which represents most of the variation) from pre-Kaabu to Late Kaabu/Fulaadu. While this is only preliminary – as there is only one Early Kaabu horizon– it is nevertheless interesting, for it may indicate change from pre-Kaabu to Early Kaabu might have been less drastic than suggested by the univariate analysis. Although one of the four pre-Kaabu horizons (PYG D) appears at a distance from the other three, almost no variables define that space, which indicates the separation results from the constraints of 2D-plotting a multidimensional result, rather than from an actual difference. Most importantly, the variables that connect these two horizons are exactly those identified in the univariate analysis: greater proportion of grit tempers and FSR decorations.

Additionally, the Payoungou CA confirms the similarities between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu assemblages. These horizons appear clustered into two groups: a more numerous one at the top, characterised by a standardisation of tempers, the appearance of incised decorations, and a great diversity of new rim forms; and a looser group at the bottom, which presents greater diversity in tempers, more everted rims, and TCR decorations. Whether these groups have any archaeological significance (whether chronological or otherwise) cannot be determined at present.

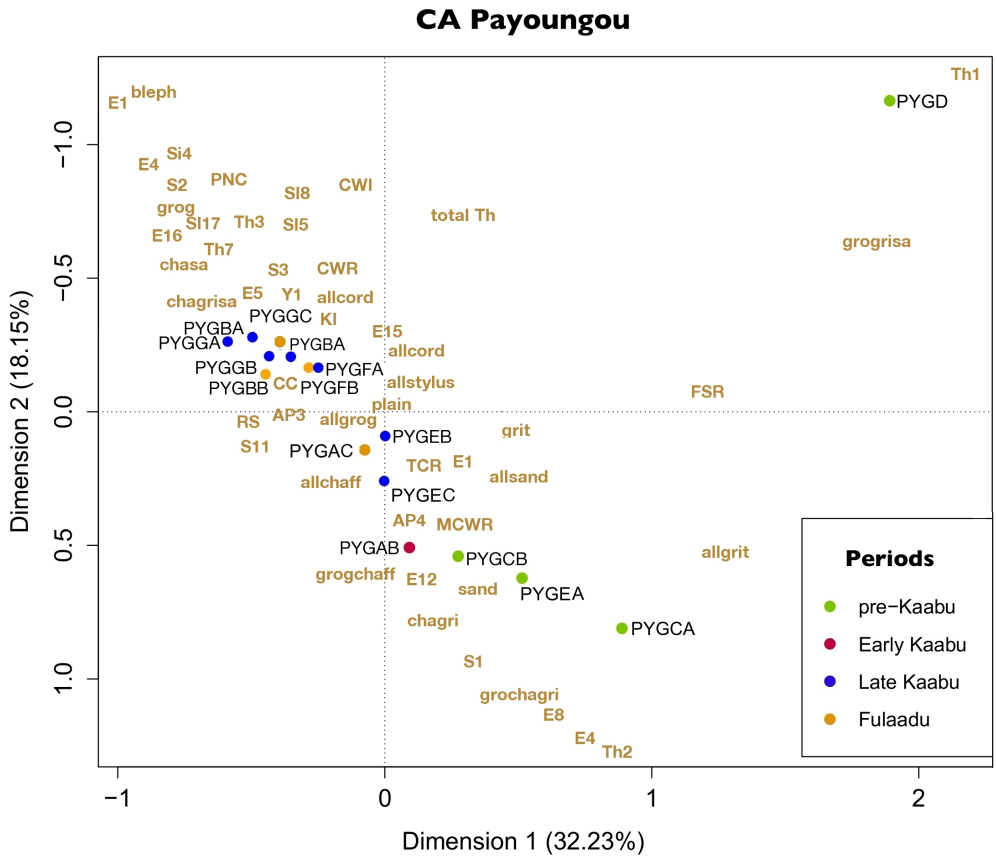


Fig. 8.29 CA for Payoungou's ceramics. Cases in black, variables in brown.

As for Korop, it necessary to bear in mind that the quantity and chronological diversity of the data available is smaller than that of Payoungou, as there were only 11 horizons (as opposed to 16 in PYG), and 72% of them were either Fulaadu or Late Kaabu. The resulting CA plot is less straightforward than that of Payoungou, but contains nevertheless some very relevant information. First of all, it presents an overall clustering of Late Kaabu and Fulaadu horizons in the left half the plot, and of the pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu ones in the right half. There are two exceptions to this pattern: horizons KRP E-B and KRP C-B. Their position, however, can be explained by the distorting effect of a few OGW sherds (probably intrusive) in the context of two small samples.

Furthermore, if we look at the variables, they form a clear horse-shoe shape which is also chronologically ordered from right to left. The two key factors associated with OGW (grit tempers and FSR) appear at the right end, while sand only tempers –generally associated with Early Kaabu – occur towards the middle. Likewise, punctate decors, characteristic of pottery from the Late Kaabu period onwards, appear left of the central axis. Nevertheless, there are also some elements

that contradict this right-to-left chronological ordering, most notably the appearance of AP-1 – a decorative type not used until the Fulaadu period– at the very beginning of the sequence. Although it is likely that these inconsistencies are distortions related to the scarcity of Early Kaabu materials, it could also mean that there are non-chronological factors at play; neither option can be confidently ruled out at present.

Consequently, in Korop, as in Payoungou, the CA confirms a significant homogeneity in the ceramic traditions from the 13th C onwards, marked by a gradual evolution rather than sudden changes. This evolution coincides in general terms with that of Payoungou although with some local particularities previously discussed (such as different use of tempers in Early Kaabu and absence of incised decorations other than channels).

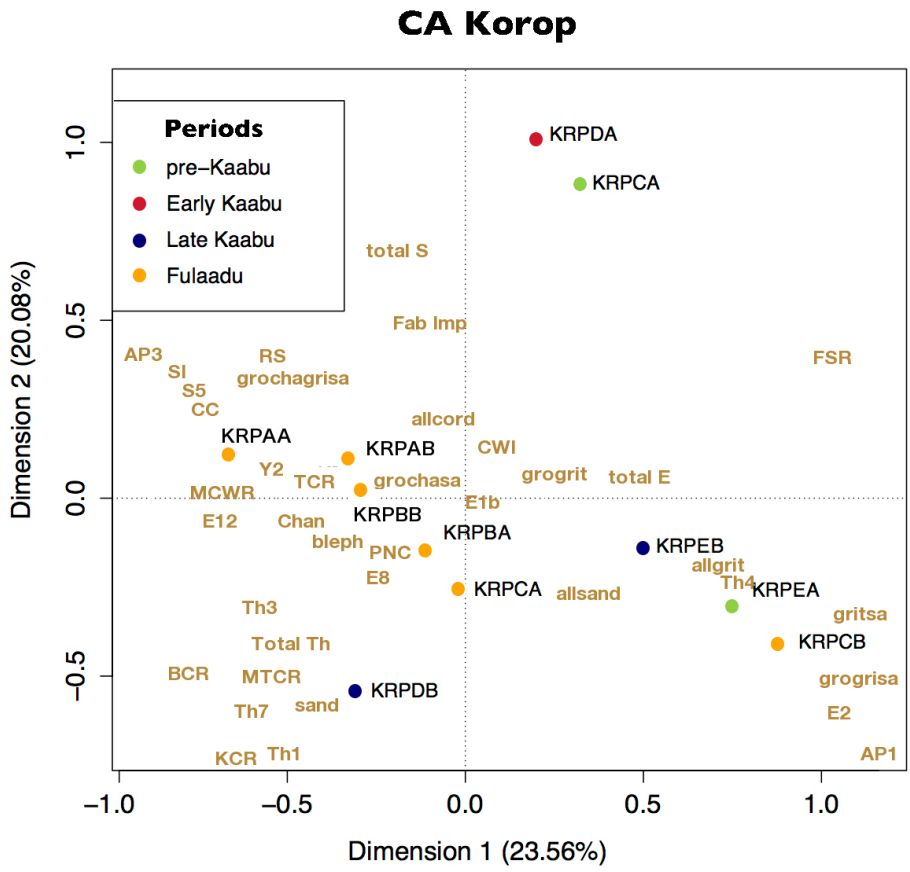


Fig. 8.30 CA of Korop ceramic assemblage.Cases in black, variables in brown.

Summary of results

As stated at the beginning, the main focus of this exercise was to determine which factors were chronologically sensitive, whether any cluster attributes could be identified, and whether any other significant patterns of inter-site and intra-site variability could be observed. Regarding the chronological dimensions, both the univariate analysis and the CA confirm the existence of a very clear attribute cluster, which I have referred to as OGW, characterised by coarse lateritic temper, orange paste, and a high proportion of folded strip roulette decorations. Although over 84% of OGW encountered during excavation comes from Pre-Kaabu horizons in Payoungou, OGW also occurs in small numbers in later contexts in both sites.

Nevertheless, as clear as the clustering of OGW material is, we know very little about its context and function: the two units in which it was encountered in substantial amounts (PYG C and D) had almost no architectural remains and limited material culture. It is therefore possible that OGW could be some form of specialised ware, and that the association with pre-Kaabu contexts resulted purely from sampling. But had this been the case, it is extremely unlikely that we had not encountered it in something other than residual amounts in later contexts. Consequently, I think it is reasonable and useful – pending future research that either confirms, disproves, or adjusts this proposition– to identify OGW as characteristic of the pre-Kaabu horizon, and interpret later appearances as either contaminations or remnants from earlier times.

Although this identification concerns mostly Payoungou –where 90% of OGW comes from–, it has also interesting implications for Korop, where OGW also occurs in small numbers. This occurrence could be interpreted as indicating the existence of a pre-Kaabu horizon at the site or in the vicinity, as well as suggesting some form of technical or cultural connection between the two sites in this early period.

Regarding the Early Kaabu period onwards, there are no clear types or attribute clusters, only gradual changes over time, and a remarkable degree of continuity. While a more distinct clustering would have been more convenient for dating purposes, the homogeneity of the pottery over the early and late Kaabu periods fits well with the history of social continuity described by oral traditions, and the continuity over the Fulaadu period suggests the social disruption of that period might have been overemphasised by both oral and written sources. Nevertheless, although gradual, the cumulative changes over time are such that

given a large enough sample, it should be possible to distinguish between periods, following the criteria outlined in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Pottery traits by period and site

Dates	Historical events	Period	Payoungou	Korop
7th C	*Bainouk rule (?)*	Pre-Kaabu	OGW: grit temper, orange fabric FSR	N/A
13thC	Foundation of Mali *Annexation of the Upper Casamance to Mali*	Early Kaabu	Grog + sand (>50%); total chaff (>10%), sand (80%)	Grog only temper (>60%); sand only tempers (30%)
15th C	Arrival of the Portuguese to the Senegambia		limited amount of rim forms	limited amount of rim forms
1446	First written mention of Nyumi			
16th C	First written mention of Kaabu	Late Kaabu	Greater presence and diversity of incised decorations	Appearance of punctate decors
1510s				
17th C			Appearance of punctate decors	Greater diversity of rim forms
18th C	Independence from Mali			
1720s	Reign of Biram Mansaté		Greater diversity of rim forms	
19th C				
1860s	Battle of Kansala			
1874	Alpha Molo's reign	Fulaadu	Continues trends of Late Kaabu; Appearance of AP-1	
1881				
20th C	Musa Molo's reign			
1903				
	Colonialism	Recent		
1960	Independence			

8.5.-Analysis: the survey material

Having analysed the excavated ceramic assemblage, with its securely dated contexts, and established which factors are most chronologically sensitive, it is time to apply these guidelines to the surface material, to ascertain whether the results from the two sites are also applicable more widely. This enterprise presents several potential problems, which are far from inconsequential. First, although surface pottery can never be assumed to constitute an unmixed chronological sample, the case of the Upper Casamance presents some added difficulties. Firstly, that due to the intense depositional soil regime previously described, the only pottery found on the surface is that which has been brought up by ploughing or other disturbances. Aggravating this potential mixing is the vicinity of cultivated fields to currently occupied villages where ceramic pots are still occasionally used and discarded. Furthermore, if as I argue, most of these sites, and in particular the largest historical towns, regularly shifted a few hundred meters, the material collected on the surface will necessarily be an amalgam of different periods, regardless of ploughing or modern disturbances.

Another potentially distorting factor that needs to be considered is a possible bias for recently abandoned settlements, resulting from the low visibility of sites coupled with the reliance on local knowledge for identifying them. In fact, 11 out of the 18 sites with enough pottery for analysis (>20 sherds) were abandoned or shifted in the last three generations, according to local elders. Although this does not mean that such sites were not also occupied in earlier periods, it does imply we might have missed some of the early sites (especially pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu) where occupation did not continue until recent times.

Finally, the gradual nature of the change between periods, which –with the exception of a few diagnostic variables– is only reflected in proportions, and thus requires of substantial samples to be reliably identified, means that we should not be too optimistic about the potential of surface material as a useful dating device.

Bearing these considerations in mind, I now explore the nature of the surface pottery collected during survey. As previously mentioned, 18 out of the 60 sites recorded had enough pottery (>20 sherds) for analysis, and out of these, only 2 had over 20 rims. Given the paucity of rim data, I have chosen to focus the analysis on decoration and temper, which were recorded for both body-sherds and rims. After an initial description of the distribution of variables and how it compares to that from excavation, I proceed to explore how the chronological variables

uncovered in the analysis of the excavation material relate to the survey data, both in terms of individual variables and through correspondence analysis. In this analysis, I have also included the surface assemblages collected from Payoungou and Korop prior to their excavation, in order to better understand the relationship between surface and sub-surface material. In two cases, Payoungou and Kabendou, different areas of the site were separately surveyed because elders stressed their conceptual separation. This split has been kept in the analysis as a way of exploring the homogeneity or dissimilarity of surface assemblages across sites.

Distribution of factors

Starting with temper, an initial look at the proportions of main components (Fig.8.31), reflects a large degree of homogeneity across sites, but if we focus instead on how these components are combined (Fig.8.32), new patterns of variation become apparent. Three aspects are remarkable: first, eight sites at the left of the graph present a clear predominance of three tempers (grog, grog+chaff, and grog+sand), while the remaining 10 are significantly more diverse. No straightforward reason, either geographical or chronological, seems to account for this division. Secondly, for those sites for which separate surface samples were recorded, the diversity between the different areas is remarkable. Finally, when the surface assemblages of Korop and Payoungou are compared to their sub-surface equivalents, the range of temper combinations present is fairly similar, but the proportions in which they appear are quite different.

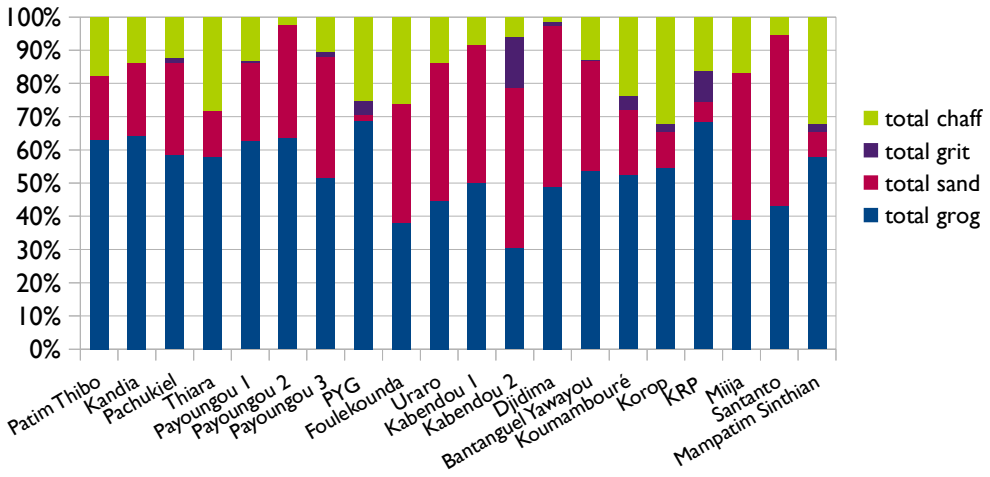


Fig. 8.31 Temper components in survey sites

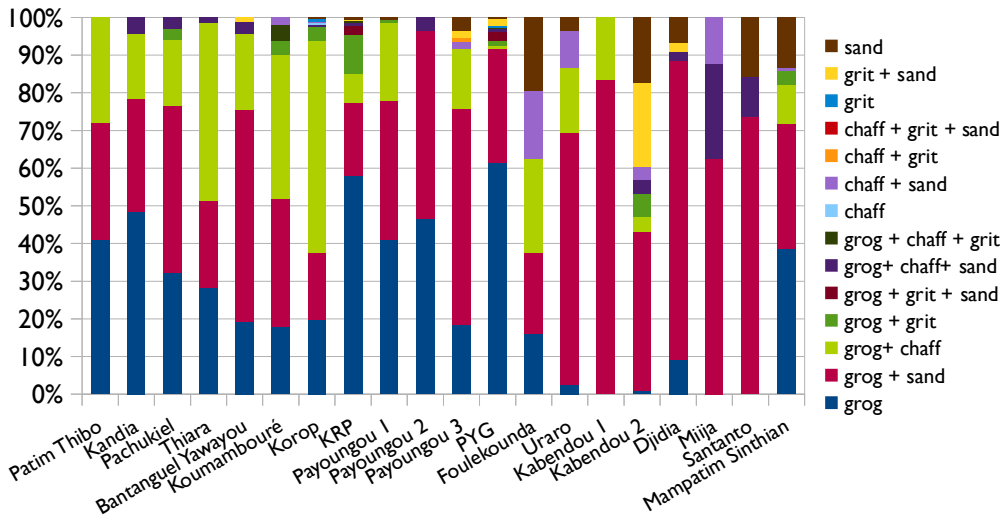


Fig.8.32 Temper combinations in survey sites

As for decorative motifs (Fig. 8.33), there is greater homogeneity across sites than for temper, but again the sites that were divided into different collection areas show a significant degree of diversity. For instance, Payoungou 2 does no have any stylus decorations, while 1 and 3 do. The quantities of red slip and total cord are also rather different, and unlike the excavated assemblage from the site, there is no presence of FSR. In Korop, as occurred with temper, the factors present are the same in the surface and subsurface samples, but their proportions vary significantly. In Kabendou, the proportions of plain sherds and total cord are very similar for both parts of the site, but completely different with regards to the presence and proportion of red slip and total stylus.

In order to detect any patterns of association that I might have missed during the univariate analysis, I conducted a Correspondence Analysis (see Fig. 8.34). The most striking result is the distinctiveness of UC-33, i.e. the *tumbu* at Kabendou. Its separation, however, seems to be entirely due to the greater presence of grit tempers, which as Fig. 8.33 showed, is significantly higher than in any other site recorded. Kabendou 2, apart, the rest of sites appear grouped in an elongated cluster. Neither geographical location nor any information provided by oral traditions (estimated date of occupation, function) accounts for the distribution of sites within this cluster.

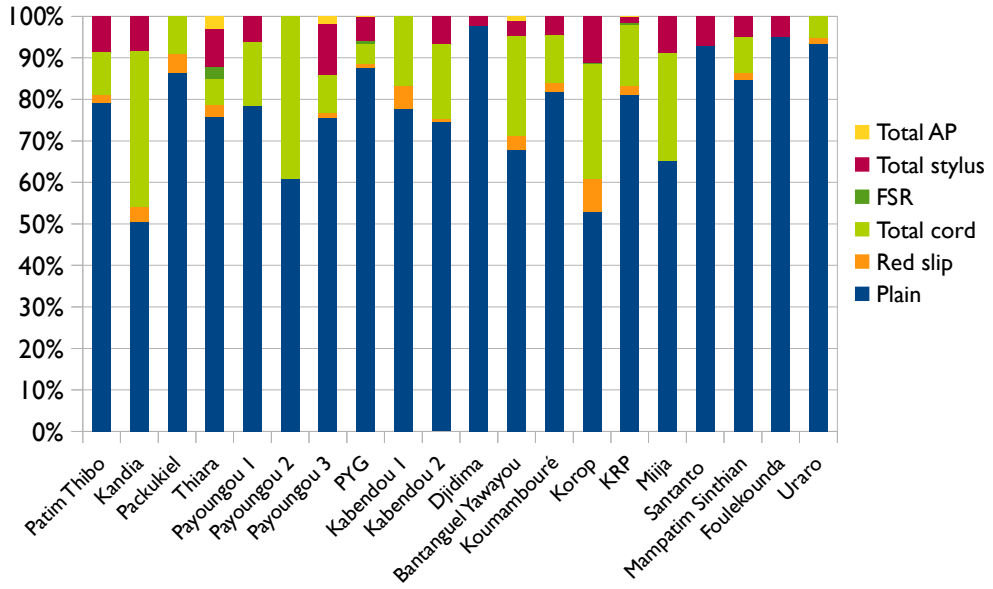


Fig.8.33 Pottery decorations by site

Dating the survey sites

Correspondence Analysis

In order to conduct an initial assessment of the degree to which sites corresponded to given periods, I ran a CA including both the data from the dated excavated horizons and the survey sites. Rims were not included, since the absence of significant rim data on most of the survey sites would have distorted the result. Because Korop and Payoungou had been shown to follow slightly different paths, I tested the survey data against Korop and Payoungou separately. As expected, there is no correlation between dated horizons from the excavations and the survey sites. This is particularly clear for Korop (Fig 8.35), where the survey ceramics cluster towards one side, whereas the excavated horizons do so in the opposite direction. For Payoungou, the result is more intriguing, as there are three clearly separate clusters –corresponding largely to the three groups already identified in the Payoungou CA– and all the survey sites are located around the middle cluster. While the clustering is extremely clear, the reasons behind it are less so. One possibility, although for now it remains just that, is that the clustering results from the mixed nature of the survey assemblages: being a combination of several periods, it makes sense that they would cluster towards the middle of the curve, halfway between the oldest and the most recent materials.

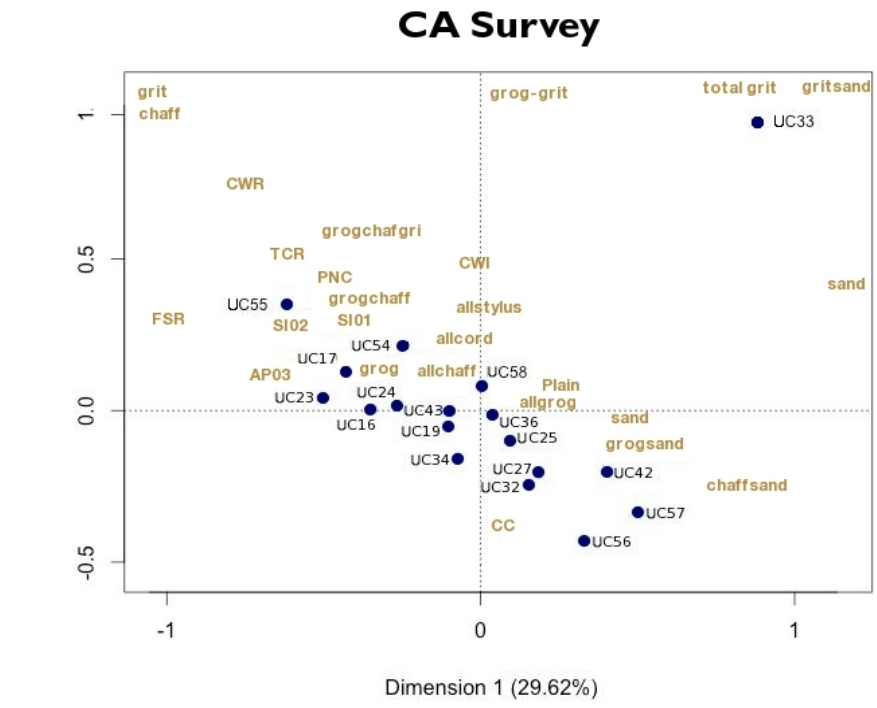


Fig. 8.34 Correspondence analysis of survey pottery

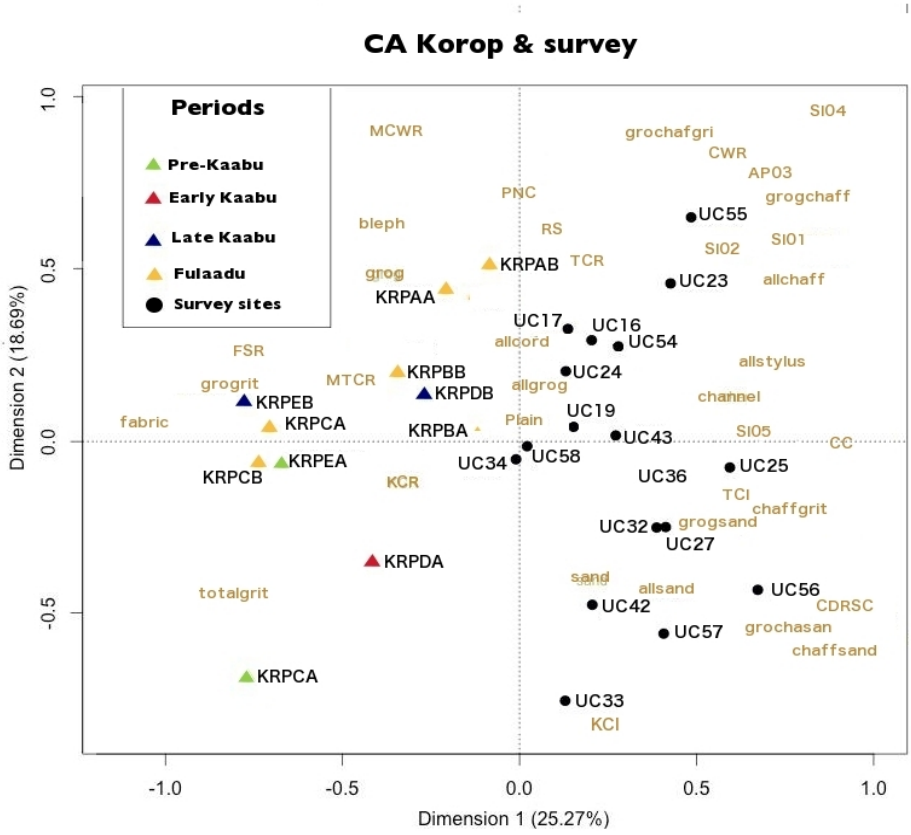


Fig. 8.35 CA for the pottery from the survey and Korop's excavations

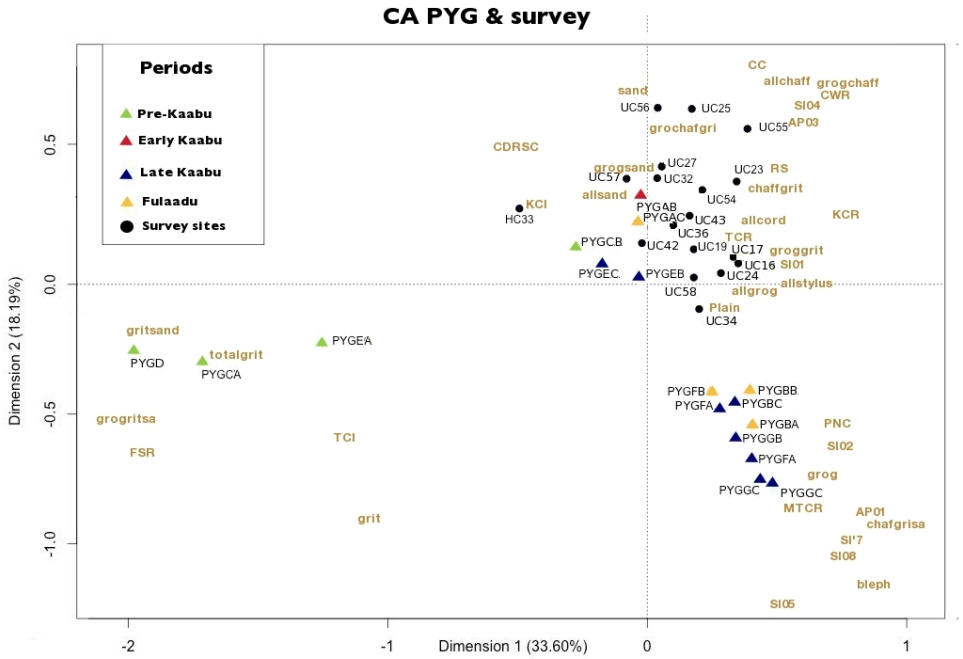


Fig. 8.36 Correspondence analysis of pottery from the survey and the Payoungou excavations.

Diagnostic variables

Although both the univariate analysis and the CA leave many unanswered questions, they both confirm the chronologically mixed nature of the survey assemblages, which makes the identification of periods by popularity of tempers or decors non-viable. What remains therefore, are the factors which define periods strictly by their presence or absence, which are, unfortunately, rather limited. The only exception to this rule is the presence of over 50% of grog+sand tempers as characteristic of Early Kaabu in Payoungou, which has been included because no other known period or site has a higher percentage, and therefore its presence can only be due to an abundance of EK material. The only trait which characterises the Fulaadu period, the presence of AP1 decors, could not be used simply because it does not occur in any of the survey sherds. Table 8.9 provides a list of the chronological indicators used and the sites that display them: two sites provide evidence of pre-Kaabu occupation, six display traits belonging to Early Kaabu, while eight include factors only occurring from the Late Kaabu period onwards. Four sites (Pathim Tibo, Payoungou 2, Foulekounda, and Mampatim Sinthian) do not show any of the distinctive traits and therefore remain undated, while 10 sites display traits from a single period, and 3 have indicators from two different periods.

It is important to stress, however, that here, even more than usual, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, as the case of Payoungou, which has revealed significant pre-Kaabu deposits during excavation, yet shows no evidence of them on the surface.

Table 8.9 Presence of chronologically diagnostic variables in survey sites with sufficient pottery for analysis

		Pre-Kaabu		**Early Kaabu**	**Late Kaabu/Fulaadu**	
		grit only temper	FSR	Grog+sand >50%	Incised Decorations	PNC
Site code	**Site Name**					
UC-16	Pathim Tibo					
UC17	Kandia					
UC19	Pachukiel					
UC23	Thiara					
UC24	Payoungou 1					
UC25	Foulekounda					
UC27	Uraro					
UC32	Kabendou (tata)					
UC33	Kabendou (tumbu)					
UC34	Payoungou 2					
UC36	Payoungou 4					
UC42	Djidima					
UC43	Bantanguel Yawayou					
UC54	Koumambouré					
UC55	Korop					
UC56	Miija					
UC57	Santanto					
UC58	Mampatim Sinthian					

Summary of survey results

I started this section with a series of caveats regarding the limited potential of the surface ceramic material for dating, including the environmental context, the presumed settlement patterns behind the formation of the archaeological record, as well as the small variation in the pottery itself. The univariate and CA analysis confirmed that survey assemblages represented chronologically mixed samples, and that therefore proportional changes in factor popularity would not prove to be useful pointers. Instead, the bulk of the dating effort would have to fall upon factors whose presence was unequivocally linked to a given period. Five such factors, from the six identified in the analysis of the excavated material, were applicable to the survey, and led to the identification of periods of occupation in 13 of the sites with surface pottery.

8.6 Discussion

To conclude this chapter, I review all the information generated during the pottery analysis, starting with the general description of both the excavation and survey assemblages, followed by a summary of their chronological implications, and a brief exploration of non-temporal reasons for variation. I conclude by comparing these results to those from culturally and geographically neighbouring regions.

It is necessary to state again, however, that this is a region that had never been studied before, and the analysis has been conducted on what is a reasonable, but nevertheless limited sample. The results that I now proceed to summarise therefore should be taken only as a preliminary classification, an initial framework and set of propositions for future research to test and build upon. In the almost blank canvas in which this analysis took place, I have aimed to strike a balance between the scope of the assertions and the reliability of the data they are drawn from; between being too descriptive and not advancing understanding, and trying to advance too much by making ungrounded assertions. I have also tried to be as transparent as possible in my reasoning, explicitly stating the process by which conclusions were drawn and the sort of evidence, qualitatively and quantitatively, upon which they are based.

Ceramics, time, and space

In terms of overall characterisation, the pottery of the Upper Casamance fits well within the general parameters of locally-made West African ceramics over the last two millennia. It is handmade earthenware, occasionally slipped, and decorated with a limited range of incised, rouletted, and impressed motifs. Other than Orange Gritty Ware, it presents no clear 'types' or attribute clusters, and its homogeneity over both time and space is remarkable. What follows is a brief review of the nature of ceramic change in the region and of its potential social implications.

The earliest dated ceramic material is the attribute cluster I have referred to as OGW. Although only known from a small sample (176 sherds), OGW has been found in both Payoungou and Korop, as well as on the surface of Kandia, suggesting it probably was present throughout the region. Most importantly OGW is markedly different from the subsequent pottery tradition, which first appears in the 13th C (as indicated by the C14 date in KRP-D). While it is necessary to bear in mind the

limitedness of the sample and to avoid simplistic equations between technical and sociopolitical changes; it must also be noted that the marked nature of the change, together with its specific timing (the period of the Empire of Mali's expansion into the region) is remarkably consistent with the oral narratives describing this period as one of population influx and drastic changes.

As for the homogeneity of ceramic traditions throughout the subsequent Early and Late Kaabu periods, it is consistent with the history of social continuity described by oral traditions, according to which the arrival of the Manding and the foundation of Kaabu were followed by 600 years of relative political and social stability. What is surprising, however, is the lack of change following the turmoil in the 19th C. After all, political power changes hands, and there are significant population movements, entailing both the displacement of Manding populations and the arrival of new groups, especially of Fuutanké from the Futa Jallon. And yet pottery traditions remain constant. Three (non-mutually exclusive) reasons could account for this stability: firstly, that the social impact of these events has been over-represented; secondly, that after centuries of coexistence, the Fulbe had largely acculturated to Manding technical practices; and finally, that regardless of the changes in the overall composition of the population, that of craftspeople remained stable, thus resulting in a continuity in material practices despite the social an political turmoil around them. While this is a question that cannot be fully resolved by ceramic evidence alone, it will be revisited in Ch.11 when considering the data as a whole.

Non-chronological variation and form

Even though so far the analysis of variation has been largely focused on the identification of chronologically sensitive variables, it is clear that time may not have been the only factor behind diversity. Elements like identity, function, gender, occupation, or status heavily influence pot form and decoration, and can lead to the simultaneous existence of multiple pottery traditions. Unfortunately, no such divisions of traditions could be identified in the Upper Casamance pottery, as contemporary units presented extremely similar ceramic assemblages. As for form, the large majority of sherds were too fragmentary to attempt any sort of vessel form reconstruction, and the correspondence analyses I ran did not flag up any consistent correlations between given rim forms, decoration, and/or temper. This is not to say that time was the only factor shaping variation; function and other

considerations most certainly did as well, but the existing data did not allow for a grounded exploration of their role.

Comparison with other known assemblages

Although the Upper Casamance had never been archaeologically studied, that is not the case of surrounding areas. Fig. 8.37 shows the archaeological sites with dated ceramic sequences within a 300km radius of the Upper Casamance, including both habitation sites, shell middens, and funerary megalithic circles. The closest available sequence, both geographically and culturally, comes from Amy Lawson's work at Niani (2003), in the northern bank of the Gambia, about 85km from Korop. Although Niani was a Manding state, described by Portuguese merchants as linked to Kaabu (De Lemos Coelho 1953[1684], 84-8), the temporal evolution of Lawson's ceramic sequence does not correlate with that of the Upper Casamance. The range of technical and decorative repertoire, however, is very similar, even in its omissions: elements like fish vertebrae roulettes or card wooden stamps, which are very common elsewhere in the Senegambia, but completely missing in the Upper Casamance, are also absent in Lawson's writings. It is therefore possible that part of this apparent disjuncture could be due to the different recording systems employed, the succinct nature of Lawson's descriptions, and the uncertain dating of her sequence, but it is difficult to say without access to the original materials.

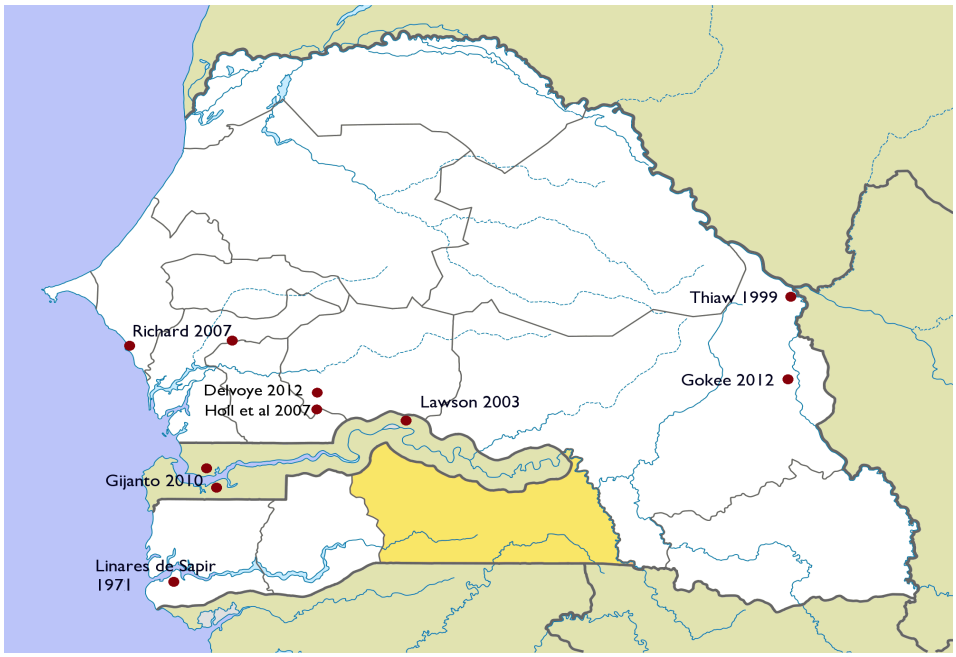


Fig.8.37 Sites with dated ceramic sequences within a 300km radius from the vicinity of the Upper Casamance

The two second closest sequences, those by Linares de Sapir in the Lower Casamance and Gijanto in the western Gambia, yielded equally negative results. In this case, I had the opportunity to look at the original materials, at the IFAN in Dakar and in St Mary's College in Maryland, respectively, and can confirm that their use of temper, decorations, and forms is completely different to that encountered in the Upper Casamance. As for the the pottery from the megalithic funerary sites of Wanar and Sine-Ngayene (Holl *et al* 2007; Delvoye 2012), just north of the Gambian border, the comparison was limited by the reliance of their sequences on intact pots and form, but their remarks about temper and decoration seem to suggest there is little correspondence.

Regarding the Falemé material, the only correlation I have encountered is in Gokee's 'Atlantic Phase', roughly corresponding to the Late Kaabu period, and which is characterised, among other things, by a greater diversity of rim forms, and an increase in incisions and punctate decors, as is the case in Payoungou (Gokee 2012, 555). It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the socially, politically, and culturally closer areas to the Upper Casamance have never been excavated. The southern bank of the Gambia on its central and eastern sides, the Missirah area to the east, and most importantly, northern Guinea Bissau, would very likely yield more positive results. In fact, although there has not been any systematic archaeological project in Guinea-Bissau, a very limited range of published grab

samples (see Fig 8.38) show remarkable similarities with Late Kaabu materials in Payoungou.

Fig.8.38 Pottery from the Nhampasseré Cave, GB (from Cardoso 1992)

Consequently, although the currently available evidence is too scarce and sparse to draw any grounded conclusions, or derive any political or social implications, it is a further step in our understanding of Senegambian culture dynamics, suggesting that the Upper Casamance's sphere of influence and contact might have lied further to the south and and east, rather than to the north and west.

CHAPTER 9: FAUNAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter I analyse the faunal remains recovered from both Payoungou and Korop. I start with a description of the methodology employed, followed by an overview of the assemblage, a detailed description of the results for the different faunal types, and end with a discussion of the social and historical implications of the results.

9.1 Methodology

All animal bones encountered during excavation were systematically collected and bagged by context number. All the soil was sieved using a 1cm mesh, and any additional bones encountered during sieving were added to the corresponding bag. Each bag was then weighed to provide an indication of general volume. The identification of the assemblage was undertaken by Kevin MacDonald using the comparative collection of the UCL Institute of Archaeology, his personal comparative collection, and with reference to metric and morphological data from Peters 1986a & 1986b, Van Neer 1989, and Villiers 1958. All the fragments identifiable to part (except for ribs and sesamoids) were classified to the most precise level possible. Any elements which could not be confidently identified to subfamily, genus, or species were identified only to size class, following the size class system developed by MacDonald (1995), and described in Table 9.1. All elements were zoned and sided, and note was taken of any immature specimens, butchery marks, and evidence of burning. Unidentifiable fragments were divided into charred, calcined, and unburnt; and weighed separately.

The assemblage has been described both in terms of minimum number of individuals (MNI) and number of individual specimens present (NISP). MNI was obtained by checking for duplication of elements of the same side (if relevant) of all the elements identified to species level. The number of such duplications was treated as the MNI. NISP was calculated in a conservative manner whereby multiple fragments that were undoubtedly from a single bone were counted only once. For example, mandibles which had fragmented and shed their teeth were counted as only a single element.

Table 9.1: Bovid class system for West Africa. Reproduced from MacDonald (1995)

Category	**Weight (kg)**	**Largest species**	**Included species**
Small	<25k	*Ourebia ourebi* ♂ *Gazella dorcas*♂	All cephalophinae except: *C. sylvicultor* -*Neotragus pygmaeus* -Dwarf ovicaprines
Small-medium	25-90	*Ammotragus lervia*♂ *Kobus kob* ♀	-*Tragelaphus scriptus* -*Cephalophus sylvicultor* -*Redunca redunca* -*Gazella rufifrons* -Non-dwarf ovicaprines
Large-medium	90-270	*Hippotragus equinus*♀ *Kobus ellipsyprimnus*	-*Tragelaphus spekei* -*Tragelaphus euryceros* -*Kobus kob*♂ -*Addax nasomaculatus* -*Oryx dammah* -*Alcelaphus buselaphus* -*Damaliscus lunatus* -*Gazella dama* -Dwarf cattle
Large	>270	*Syncerus caffer caffer* *Taurotragus derbianus*	-*Hippotragus equinus*♂ -*Syncerus caffer* (all sub-sp) -Non-dwarf cattle

9.2 Overview of the assemblage

A total of 17.68 kg of animal bone was recovered, including 201 identifiable specimens. The large majority (77% in terms of weight) came from refuse pits and middens. Most of the identified specimens (62%) also came from such contexts. As Payoungou was the site with most refuse pits, it was also the best represented in the assemblage, accounting for 81% of the unidentified, and 59.20% of the identified bone. Preservation greatly varied from unit to unit, as shown by the rate between identifiable and unidentified bones (see Table. 9.2). The ratio of unburnt/charred/calcined bones was slightly different for the identified (66.51%/ 22.75%/10.74%) and unidentified (81.22%/6.57%/2.21%) parts of the assemblage. Visible butchery marks were very rare due to the weathered nature of most of the

remains (only 3 were found), and no pathologies were encountered.

The assemblage was heavily dominated by domestic cattle (*Bos sp.*), which accounted for 42.29% of the identified bones, probably more, as large and medium-large bovids only identified to size-class (most of which are probably *Bos*), represented an additional 20.89%. The quantity of ovicaprine remains was remarkably low by Senegambian standards (5.47%), as was that of fish (1.49%).

In terms of dating, all of the horizons with identifiable faunal remains belonged to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods (i.e. 16th C onwards), with the exception of a pre-13th C cattle molar from PYG-C-A. Additionally, several of the richest horizons could only be identified as post-15th C, rather than being allocated to a specific period. It was therefore decided to analyse the sample as a whole, rather than divided by period, as an assessment of the chronological evolution between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu would have had to rely on a very small, and hence not representative, sample.

In relation to provenance, faunal remains were very unequally distributed across both sites, as shown by Fig. 9.1 and Table 9.2. In fact, three units (PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A) accounted for 78% of the identified, and 87% of the unidentified, bone. Preservation also varied substantially, as shown by the substantial differences between NISP and the quantity of unidentified bone in the different units.

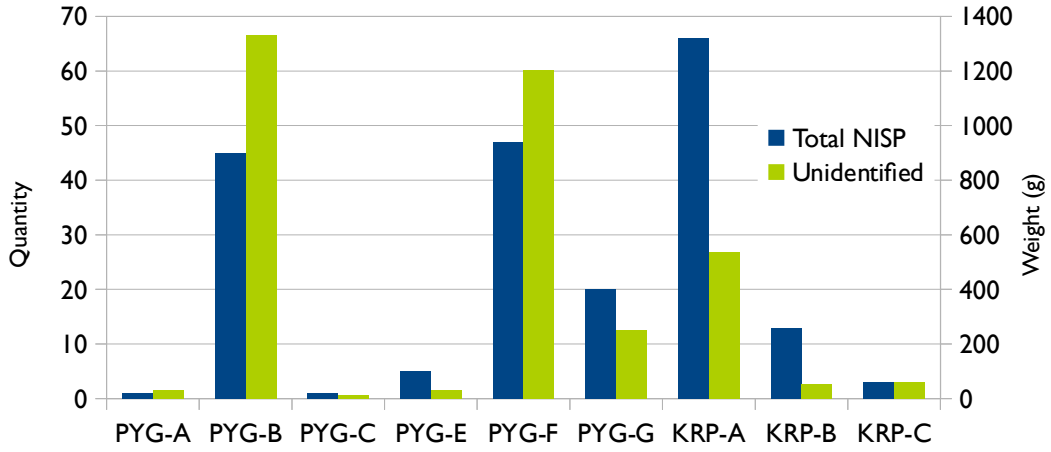


Fig.9.1 Faunal remains: NISP and weight per excavated unit.

Table 9.2 Total NISP and weight by unit

	Total NISP	Unid(g)	Preservation rate*
PYG-A	1	30.71	*3.26*
PYG-B	45	1331.98	*3.38*
PYG-C	1	11.79	*8.48*
PYG-E	5	29.95	*16.69*
PYG-F	47	1201.25	*3.91*
PYG-G	20	251.78	*7.94*
KRP-A	66	537.59	*12.28*
KRP-B	13	54.76	*23.74*
KRP-C	3	59.38	*5.05*

*Total NISP/unidentified

9.3 Results

Pastoral economy: cattle, sheep, and goat.

As previously indicated, the main defining trait of the assemblage as a whole is the unusually high proportion of cattle, which constituted 36.97% of the faunal remains from Payoungou and 50.00% of those from Korop. Only one case of clearly dwarf cattle was encountered in PYG, the remainder are of a medium size comparable to Ndama and slightly larger breeds. Additionally, large and large-medium bovids were in all cases the second most common type of bone. Interestingly, the quantities of cattle bone were substantially larger in pit and midden contexts (53.10%) than in other types of deposits (24.74%). The same applied to total quantities of large and medium large bovids (76.11% vs 46.39%).

As for ovicaprines, they represented only 5.04% and 6.10% of the assemblage in Payoungou and Korop, respectively. Out of these, 6 specimens could be identified confidently as *Ovis aries* (all from Payoungou), and one as *Capra hircus* (from Korop). In the case of ovicaprids, the rates for middens and refuse pits were the same as for the rest of contexts.

Other domestic animals:

Although much less prevalent than ovicaprids and cattle, domestic fowl were also present, as four specimens of *Gallus/Numida,* including two identifiable

as *Gallus gallus)*. The assemblage also included *s*one donkey (*Equus asinus*) tibia, and a dog (*Canis* sp) metapodial. All of these, except for the two *Gallus Gallus,* came from Korop, and were less common in rubbish pits and middens (1.77%) than in other contexts (7.22%).

Reptiles

Reptiles were the most common type of wild fauna encountered in both sites (5.88% in Payoungou, 6.10% in Korop). They included soft shell turtle (*Cyclarnobis sp.),* fresh water turtle (*Pelomedusidae), c*rocodile (*Crocodylus sp.*), a python-sized snake (*Serpentes sp.),* and one case of monitor lizard (*Varanus sp.*). All of these, except for the later and one fragment of soft shell turtle carapace, came from non-pit contexts. The importance of reptiles was similar for both Payoungou (5.88%) and Korop (6.10%).

Fish

Remarkably, only three fragments of fish remains were encountered: two catfish species (*Clarotes laticeps* and an indeterminate silurid) and a Nile Perch (*Lates niloticus*), all from Payoungou and from non-pit contexts. This scarcity of fish is especially surprising given how both Payoungou and Korop are located in the proximity of substantial rivers and streams. Recovery was systematic and used fine mesh were possible, and preservation was not so uniformly problematic that there could have been systematic bias in ths regard. Indications are therefore that fish was only rarely consumed at the sites, potentially for reasons of dietary taboo.

Wild birds

Only two instances of wild birds were recorded, a goose (*Anatidae sp.*) coracoid fragment from Korop, and a heron or egret (*Ardeidae sp.*) tibiotarsus from Payoungou, both from non-pit contexts.

Wild mammals

A limited but diverse sample of wild mammals was recovered from both Payoungou and Korop. It included small antelopes like red-flanked duiker (*Cephalophus rufilatus*) and Bohor reedbuck (*Redunca redunca*), warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*), African buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), African civet (*Civettictis civetta)* and cane rat (*Thryonomidae)*. Wild mammals were found in

both pit and non-pit contexts, and represented 6.72% of Payoungou's assemblage and 4.88% of that from Korop.

Mollusks

Only two instances of molluscs were recorded, both from Payoungou and from non-pit contexts. The only one identifiable to genus level was a *Lymnaea* shell, a medium sized freshwater snail.

Table 9.3 Faunal remains from Korop

Taxa	KRP-A-A		KRP-A-B		KRP-A-C		KRP-B-A		KRP-B-B		KRP-C-A		TOTAL NISP
	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	
Bos sp.	1	1	34	3			5	1	1	1			41
Bos sp. (dwarf)													0
Capra hircus			1	1									1
Ovis capra													0
Ovicaprid			4	1									4
Large bovid			2	N/A	1	N/A					1	N/A	4
Large medium bovid			2	N/A	1	N/A					1	N/A	4
Large medium bovid cf.wild			1	N/A									1
cf. Equus asinus			1	1									1
Small medium bovid	1	1	5	N/A	1	N/A	3	N/A			1	N/A	11
Canis sp.					1	1							1
Civettictis civetta			1	1									1
Phacochoerus aethiopicus													0
Syncerus caffer													0
Cephalophus rufilatus	1	1					1	1					2
Redunca redunca													0
Alcelephinae sp.													0
Thryonomidae													0
Gallus /Numida					2	1							2
Gallus gallus													0
Ardeidae sp.													0
Anatidae sp.							1	1					1
Ind. medium bird			3	N/A									3
Cyclanorbis sp.			1	1	1	1	1	1					3
Pelomedusidae							1	1					1
Crocodylus sp.	1	1											1
Varanus sp.													0
Serpentes sp.													0
Ind silurid													0
Clarotes laticeps													0
Lates niloticus													0
													0
Lymnaea													0
Ind. Gastropod													0

Table 9.4 Faunal remains from Payoungou

Taxa	PYG-A-A		PYG-B-A		PYG-B-B		PYG-C-B		PYG-E-A		PYG-E-B		PYG-F-B		PYG-G-A		PYG-G-B		PYG-G-C		TOTAL NISP
	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	
Bos sp.	1	1	10	1	5	1	1	1			3	2	20	1	1	1			2	1	43
Bos sp. (dwarf)			1	1																	1
Capra hircus																					
Ovis capra													1	1					5	1	6
Ovicaprid																					0
Large bovid			1	N/A	3	N/A							2	N/A							6
Large medium bovid			5	N/A	2	N/A							17	N/A	2	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	28
Large medium bovid cf.wild																					0
cf. Equus asinus																					0
Small medium bovid			1	N/A	4	N/A							3	N/A	1	N/A					9
Canis sp.																					0
Civettictis civetta																					0
Phacochoerus aethiopicus			1	1									1	1							2
Syncerus caffer													2	1							2
Cephalophus rufilatus																					0
Redunca redunca					2	1															2
Alcelephinae sp.													1	1							1
Thryonomidae																	1	1			1
Gallus /Numida																					0
Gallus gallus					2	1															2
Ardeidae sp.			1	1																	1
Anatidae sp.																					0
Ind. medium bird			1	N/A	1	N/A													1	N/A	3
Cyclanorbis sp.			3	1	1	1															4
Pelomedusidae																					0
Crocodylus sp.																			1	1	1
Varanus sp.																			1	1	1
Serpentes sp.																			1	1	1
Ind silurid																			1	N/A	1
Clarotes laticeps																			1	1	1
Lates niloticus					1	1															1
Lymnaea									1	1											1
Ind. Gastropod									1	1											1
Total	1		24		21		1		2		3		47		4		2		14		119

9.4 Interpreting the faunal assemblage

The faunal assemblage from Payoungou and Korop presented some limitations which need to be taken into account. First of all, it belonged entirely to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, thus providing no information about earlier animal consumption patterns. This lack of earlier remains could be due to preservation – as some badly preserved (chemically leached) and unidentifiable bone was encountered in early horizons – or to a question of sampling (there were less early horizons excavated overall).

A second limitation comes from the predominance of three units (PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A), which together represented 78% of the identified assemblage (and KRP-A on its own accounted for 80% of Korop's faunal remains). These three units had in common their location inside a *tata,* comprising rubbish pits or midden; and their quantitative weight heavily affected the total numbers, making certain patterns look more common than they actually were. Bearing in mind these caveats, however, the assemblage presented relevant insights at three different levels:

Payoungou vs Korop

Despite the historical and geographical differences, the faunal assemblages in Payoungou and Korop were remarkably similar. Although slightly higher in Korop, cattle bones dominated both assemblages, followed by medium-large bovid remains, most of which were probably also cattle. The proportion of ovicaprines was practically identical for both sites, as was that of reptiles. The main differences between both sites appeared in relation to the presence or absence of minor dietary components, most notably fish and molluscs. As is often the case in food-producing societies, wild mammals were rare but persistently present, occasional products of the hunt.

Pits and middens vs other deposits

Contrasting with this homogeneity in the general assemblages from both sites, intra-site differences were quite significant. One of the most prominent was that between the faunal remains from refuse pits and middens and those from other deposits. First of all, cattle represented 53.10% of the identified bones in the former, but only 24.74% in the latter. When large and large-medium bovids are also taken into account, this proportion goes up to 76.11% in pits and middens, as opposed to

46.39% in other types of deposits. The second difference was regarding the proportion of wild fauna, which was much lower in pits and middens (8.85%) than in other deposits (25.77%). Taken together, these patterns tentatively suggest that pits and middens were the result of different consumption patterns, centred around cattle, and very likely connected to feasting events, as will be discussed in Ch. 11.

Table 9.5 Faunal remains in pits/middens and other contexts

	Pits & middens		Other	
	NISP	%	NISP	%
Bos sp.	60	53,10%	24	24,74%
Ovicaprids	7	6,19%	5	5,15%
All large bovids	86	76,11%	45	46,39%
Total wild	10	8,85%	25	25,77%
Fish	0	0,00%	3	3,13%
Reptiles	2	1,77%	11	11,46%

Elite areas vs non-elite areas

Finally, there were also marked differences between the faunal remains in units located inside the *tataji* as identified by local elders and those elsewhere. These differences overlapped to some extent with those between pits and non-pit areas (as the three largest pits were located in these elite areas), but also had key distinctive features. The most notable difference between elite and non-elite areas was the amount of cattle present, which were much higher (44.94% as opposed to 28.33%) in the former. Ovicaprines, however, were more common in non-elite areas (16.67% as opposed to 3.80%), as were fish and wild animals in general. Thus, the results seem to indicate that access to cattle was not limited to the elites, but that cattle consumption was clearly higher amongst them. This is consistent with the patterns described by oral traditions, which describe how Fulbe herders bred cattle, but had to give most of them in tribute to the Kaabu aristocracy (cf. Ch.3). Additionally, all the rubbish pits and middens with substantial animal bone concentrations were located in elite areas, indicating that the distinctive consumption patterns that produced them were limited to certain social sectors.

Table 9.6. Faunal remains in elite and non-elite areas

	Elite areas		Non-elite areas	
	NISP	%	NISP	%
Bos sp.	71	44,94%	17	28,33%
Total L/ML bovids	107	60,11%	24	40,00%
Ovicaprines	6	3,80%	10	16,67%
Fish	1	0,63%	4	6,67%
Reptiles	7	4,43%	8	13,33%
Total wild	19	12,03%	15	25,00%

Conclusions

The faunal assemblages from both Payoungou and Korop were very similar, both in terms of their overall proportions, and with regards to intra-site differences. Together with the rest of the material evidence described in previous chapters, they confirm that despite the geographical and political differences, Payoungou and Korop were part of a shared cultural and social sphere. Additionally, they reveal how between the 16th and 19th C, a common elite culture existed in both sites, characterised by higher levels of cattle consumption and perhaps feasting behaviour, contrasting with the more humble day-to-day animal consumption patterns elsewhere in the site. Finally, while arguments exclusively based on absence of evidence are problematic, the total lack of horse remains (which historical sources indicate were important during this period) is notable, and matches the oral tradition claim that horses were not eaten and buried separately.

CHAPTER 10 : Other artefact categories

10.1.-Introduction and methodology

In addition to the deposits and features described in Ch. 6-7, the ceramics analysed in Ch.8, and the faunal assemblage discussed in Ch.9, the survey and excavations uncovered a variety of small objects, or fragments thereof, which provide information about living conditions, social and political networks, nature of the occupation and dating. In this chapter, I analyse the different types of small finds encountered and their implications.

All small finds encountered during survey and excavation were systematically collected, assigned a unique number, and bagged. All soil was screened (using a 1cm or a 2mm, depending on the nature of the context). Ceramic, stone and glass finds were washed and air-dried, metal and bone ones were not. Back in the field lab, each object was individually recorded in the small finds log, including a sketch with its measurements, and a short description. The post-excavation analysis varied for the different categories of objects and will therefore be described in their respective sections.

10.2 Smoking pipes

The most ubiquitous type of small find as smoking pipes. Useful as chronological markers, as well as for exploring questions of economic and social change and variation, smoking pipes have been widely used to interpret historical archaeological assemblages across West Africa. Chronologically, the presence of pipes is generally accepted to be diagnostic of post-1500 assemblages, as there is no firm evidence for the smoking of native herbs prior to the arrival of tobacco from America (Ozanne 1969; Philips 1983, 304; Welling 2000/2001, 96-7; McIntosh *et al* 2003, 172). Nevertheless, in her excavations in the Central Gambia Valley, Amy Lawson (2003a, 266-7) claimed to have found local pipes in pre-16th C contexts. Although her claim rests entirely on a single C14 date, and is therefore problematic, because of the proximity of the Upper Casamance to the Gambia, it was deemed pertinent to date two of the horizons with pipes (PYG-B-B and KRP-A-B). The dates obtained, AD 1640-1660 and post-1685, confirm that the general consensus applies in this case.

Historical and ethnographic evidence

As for the social implications of tobacco pipes, two testimonies of British travellers to the Gambia in the 17th and 18th C are particularly enlightening. The first of them, that of the explorer Richard Jobson, who visited the Gambia in 1620-1621, described how:

> 'onely one principall thing, they canoot misse, and that is their Tabacco pipes, whereof there is few or none of them, be they men or women doth walke or go without, they do make onlye the bowle of earth, with a necke of the same, about two inches long, very neatly, and artificially colouring or grasing the earth, very hansomly, all the bowles being very great, and for the most part, will hold halfe an ounce of Tabacco ; they put into the necke a long kane, many times a yard of length, and in that manner draw their smoake, whereof they are great takers, and cannot of all other things live without it' (Jobson 1623, 122).

A century later, Francis Moore, a clerk and factor for the Royal African Company, gave a very similar description of pipes and smoking practices, noting how:

> 'their pipes are made of clay, very neat, and of a reddish colour, the stems are only a piece of reed, or small stick bored through with an hot iron wyre, some of which are six foot long. After they are bored they polish them with rough leaves till they are very smooth, white and handsome, and withal very strong ; they fasten the bowls and stem together with a piece of red leather, sometimes with a fine leather tassel hanging to it about the middle of the Stem ; and tho' the end of the reed goes into the bowl of the pipe, it fits almost as well as pipes that are made all in one ; they clean the reeds, when foul, by drawing long Straws thro' them with a small knife. The merchants which travel much, carry with them pipes of a great size, some of them holding lo less than half a pints : these are their traveling pipes' (Moore 1738, 76).

Fig.10.1 Two elders from Payoungou and Kandia, respectively smoking tobacco in 2013

Fig.10.2 Left: Woman from the Senegambia smoking a pipe (Boilat 1849). Right: Wolof woman smoking a pipe in the early 20th C (source: Archives du Sénégal).

Recording and typologies

Most archaeological and historical studies of smoking pipes in West Africa have focused on description, illustration, and creation of typologies. In addition to the problems presented by traditional typologies (cf. Ch.8), the schemes developed for smoking pipes present the added problem of being generally based on complete specimens, which render most retrieved materials (which tend to be fragmentary) unclassifiable and therefore useless (Welling 2001, 85). For this reason, instead of trying to group pipe fragments into types, I have described them using the same principles as outlined for the rest of the ceramic assemblage, recording them on the basis of a number of variables, listed in table 10.1. No size measurements were taken, as the fragmented nature of the assemblage meant no complete dimensions could be obtained from most specimens.

Table.10.1 Variables recorded for smoking pipes

Variable	Attribute	Categories	Description
Decoration		RS	Red slip
		Chan	Channel or Multi-Channel, horizontal or diagonal
		AP-1	Applied plastic ridge
		I-1	Line of crescent-shaped impressions
		I-2	Row of straight vertical impressions
		I-3	Incised crosshatch
		I-4	Vertical parallel striations (cf.comb)
		I-5	Zig-zag pattern with impressed circles at the corners and multiple incised lines connecting them
		I-6	Like I-7, but with crossed circles
		I-7	Punctate, simple circles
		I-8	Impressed spirals
		I-9	Punctate, two concentric circles
		I-10	Semi-circular tool, impressed
		I-11	Stabbed comb: line of impressed rectangles
		Undec.	No decoration
Rim	shape	S1	Simple square rim
		S2	Simple rim, narrows towards the top, flat.
		Th1	Thickened: Like S1 but wih a 2mm difference between the thickest and thinnest parts
		Th2	Thickened, with collar.
	angle	0	Straight: 90°
		1	Closed: >90°
	chamfer	1	Present
		0	Absent
Stem		ST-1	Flaring collar, round end
		ST-2	Flaring collar, square end
		ST-3	Short square collar, no flaring
		ST-4	Short round collar, no flaring
		ST-5	No collar, short
		ST-6	No collar, long
		ST-7	Collar only slightly wider than stem, straight, circular
Base	shape	B-1	Circular footed base
		B-2	Non-footed base
Completeness		1	Bowl rim (2 cm)
		2	Bowl
		3	Base of bowl
		4	Stem articulation point

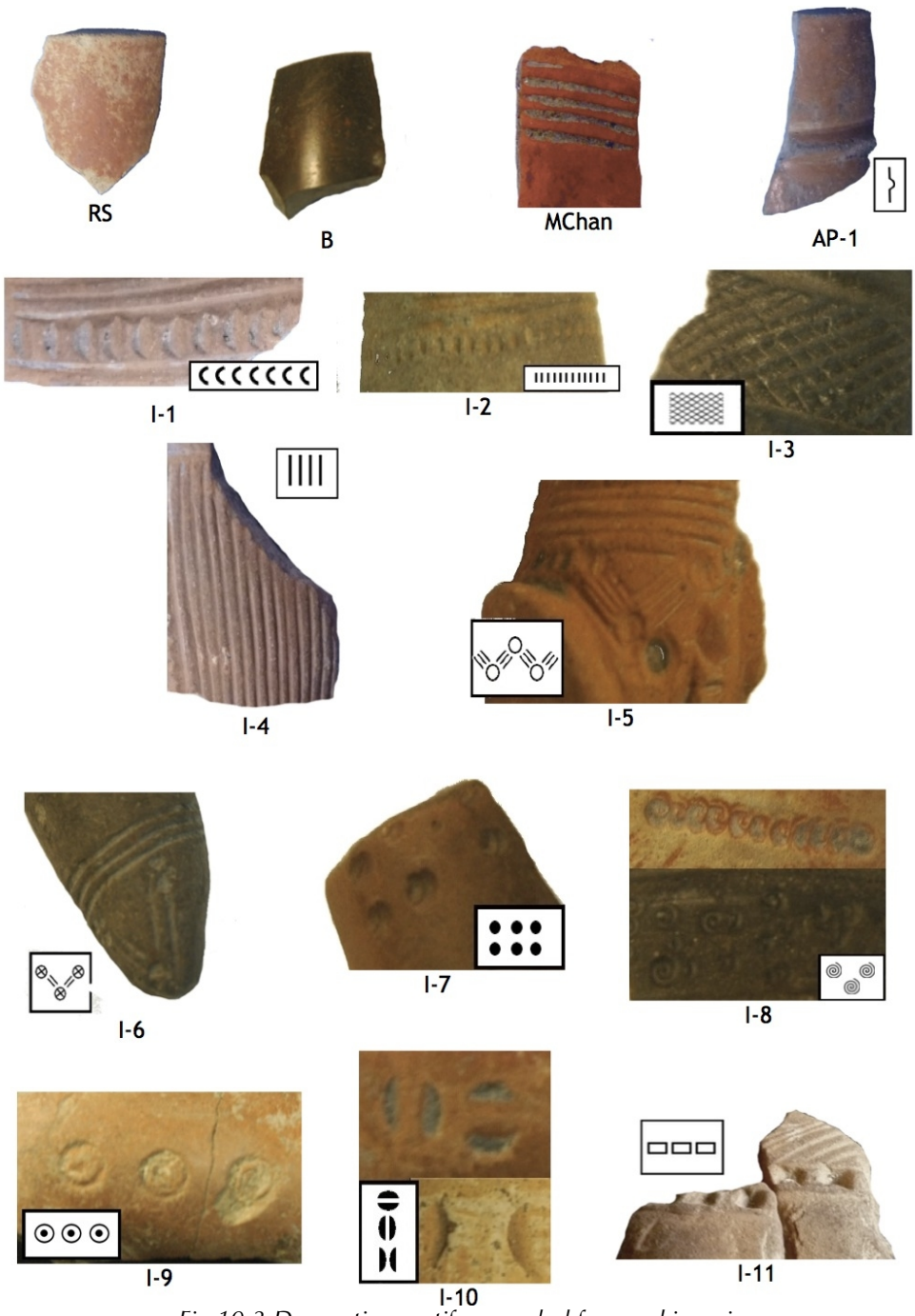


Fig.10.3 Decorative motifs recorded for smoking pipes

Fig.10.4 Types of stem tips recorded

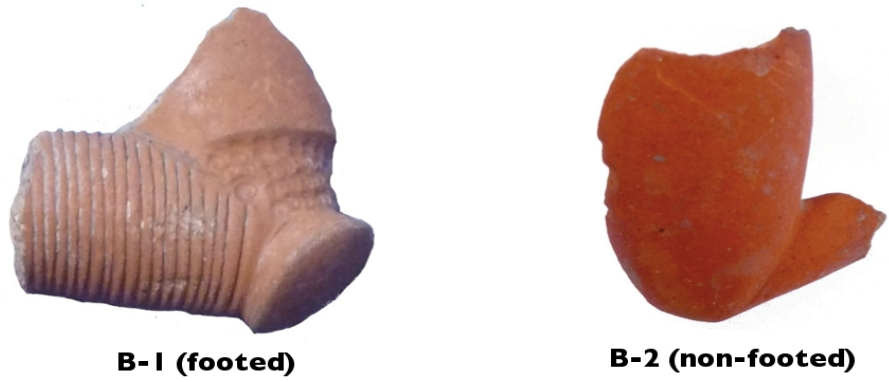


Fig.10.5 Types of bases recorded

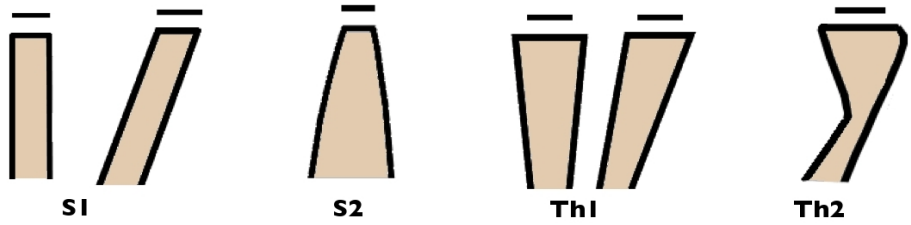
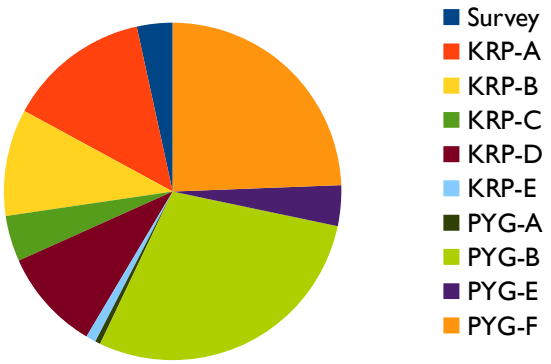


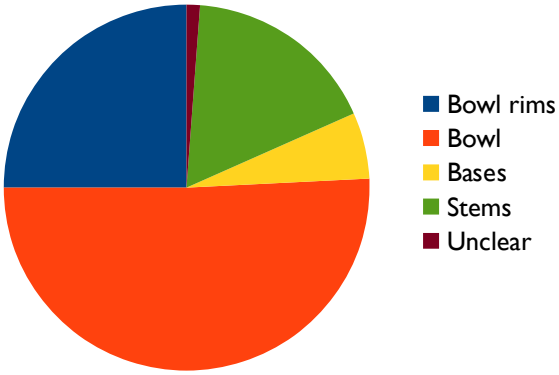
Fig. 10.6 Types of rims recorded

The Upper Casamance assemblage

We encountered a total of 220 pipe fragments: 7 from the survey, 133 from Payoungou, and 80 from Korop. The assemblage was very fragmentary, composed mostly of bowl fragments, and included no complete pipes. As it tends to be the case with other Senegambian assemblages (Lawson 2003, 267 ; Gokee 2012, 624), the pipes are much finer in texture and design than locally-made pottery. As for their provenance, contrary to faunal remains, only 29% came from refuse pits or midden contexts. The most common surface treatments in both Payoungou and Korop were red-slip, burnishing, and channels, although the proportions varied slightly depending on the site and unit (see Fig.10.7). As for less common decorative motifs, the numbers are too low as to derive any conclusions. The numbers for the different units and factors are summarised in Table 10.2.



10.7 Smoking pipes by site



10.8 Smoking pipes by part

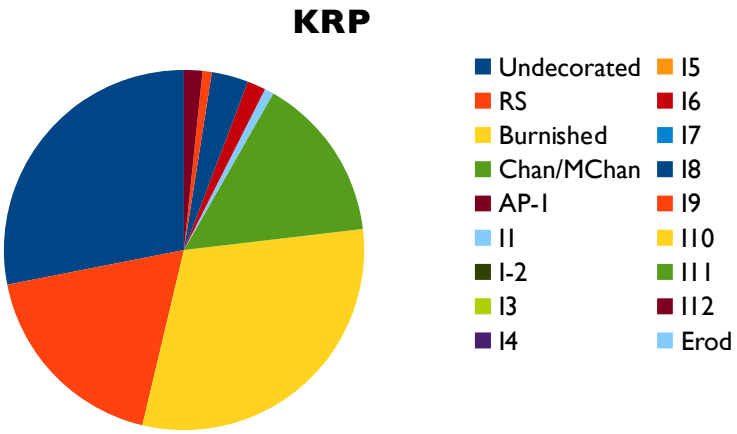


Fig.10.9 Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Korop

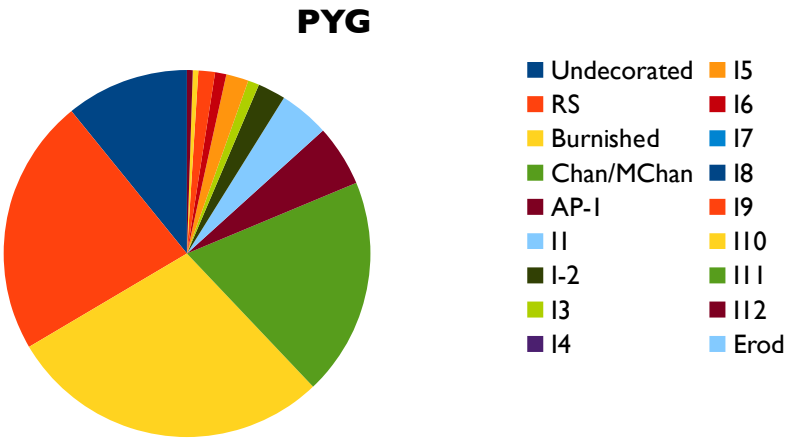


Fig. 10.10 Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Payoungou

Table 10.2 Smoking pipe traits by unit

Origin	Total	Decoration																Rim								Stem							Base		Parts			
																		shape				angle		chamfer															
		RS	B	Ch	AP-I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	I9	I10	I11	I12	S1	S2	Th1	Th2	0	1	0	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	1	2	3	4
Survey	7	1	2	4	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	5
PYG-A	1	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	1	-	-	-
PYG-B	59	24	24	19	4	6	4	1	-	4	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	12	1	6	6	13	12	6	19	5	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	25	32	6	13
PYG-E	8	3	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	2	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	7	1	-
PYG-F	48	12	23	11	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	13	-	4	2	11	8	3	16	2	6	-	-	-	-	-		1	23	27	1	10
PYG-G	15	7	5	8	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	8	1	3
KRP-A	34	16	29	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	5	1	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5	18	3	7
KRP-B	16	4	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	1	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	10	-	3
KRP-C	10	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	1	2
KRP-D	20	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	18	1	1
KRP-E	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Total	220	69	97	61	12	10	6	3	0	4	5	1	4	4	1	1	3	39	3	13	8	32	31	12	51	12	11	2	2	1	1	1	7	7	67	130	15	44

Comparison with other pipe assemblages

It is quite difficult to compare and assess the degree of similarity or difference of the Upper Casamance's pipe assemblage to other West African ones, since different authors use very different classification systems – or none at all– and rarely publish detailed results. On the basis of qualitative assessments of published photographs and drawings, however, and I can discern clear parallels between the Upper Casamance's assemblage and that of Lawson (2003, 269) and Platt (2013) in the Gambia valley, and Richard (2007, 616) in the Siin region. As can be seen in Fig.10.11, both assemblages include some of the forms (ST-1, ST-2, ST-3, B-2) and decorations (I-5, Mchan, I-3) noted in the Upper Casamance. On the other hand, the assemblages from the Falémé (e.g. Gokee 2012, 624-6) appear to be very different.

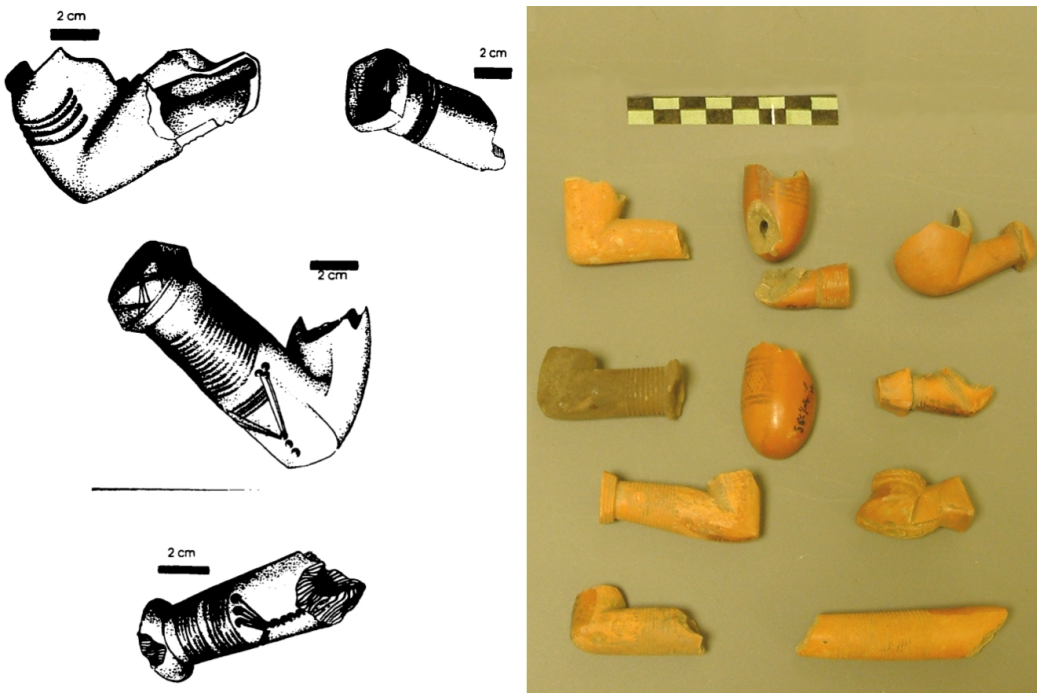


Fig.10.11Left. Smoking pipes from the Central Gambia Valley (Lawson 2003, 269). Right: smoking pipes from the Siin (Richard 2007, 616).

10.3 Beads

The most common type of small find after smoking pipes were beads. Beads have long been part of local, regional, and long-distance exchange networks throughout West Africa. Stone, bone, shell, and ostrich-shell beads have been widely recovered from Late Stone Age and Iron Age contexts (DeCorse 1989,41);

and carnelian beads have been found in sites as old as 2000 BC (MacDonald 2011b). Although originally thought to have appeared only with the rise of trans-Saharan trade, glassbeads have now been found in pre-AD 800 contexts in sites like Kissi (Burkina Faso), Igbo-Ukwu (Nigeria), and Jenne-Jeno (Mali) (Brill 1995; Insoll & Shaw 1997; Magnavita 2003). Their importance, however, grew substantially with the development of established trans-Saharan trade routes, as documented by Arab chroniclers such as Yaqut and al-Idrisi in the 12th C and Ibn-Battuta in the mid-14th C (Levtzion and Hopkins 2000: 86, 107-108, 169, 287); and continued with the shift in trading axes towards the Atlantic coast from the 15th C onwards. The quantitative importance of the trade in glass beads at the height of the Atlantic era is is reflected in the words of the Dominican missionary to Senegambia Jean Baptiste Labat:

> 'on se sauroiut croire la consommation qui se fait dans toute l'Afrique de ces grains de verre ou des gros émail que l'on tire d'Hollande, de Venise, d'Alemagne & de quelques endroits de France. Ces grains ont des noms differens selon leur grosseur, leur coleur, leur figure. [...] Les Noirs, hommes, femmes & enfants s'en parent; ils en font des colliers, des bracelets & de petits ornaments qu'ils appliquent sur les bords de leurs panes, de leurs bonnets & autres hardes & sur quelques petits meubles[1]' (Labat 1728a, 241-2)

Observations which are confirmed a few decades later by another priest, Demanet, who during a voyage to Senegambia in 1763-4 noted how:

> 'beads of all types are the merchandise which works best for traders, and that which brings them the biggest profits : consequently, they must give out as much as it is demanded. Without beads the colony could not exist because without them it would not be possible to acquire food and other articles necessary to life which the country provides. It is inconceivable for inexperienced Europeans to imagine how many beads are consumed along all the coasts of Africa. Men and women alike wear prodigious belts of them, which are sometimes one foot wide by three or four rows thick. The finer beads are for those who are wealthy ; the common ones are for their slaves. A woman could not consider herself dressed if she didn't have a certain number of sufficient necklaces and belts of coral, amber loquis, galets, carnelian and crystal beads, and gold ear pendants which they make themselves (Walckenaer 1842, V, 182).

1 'One would not believe the consumption throughout Africa of these glass beads from Holland, Venice, Germany, and certain parts of France. These beads have different names depending on their thickness, colour, shape [...] The Blacks, men, women, and children wear them; they make necklaces, bracelets, and small ornaments which they attach to the edges of their clothes, of their hats, and other rags, and onto some small pieces of furniture'

Classification and dating

Although beads have often been used in West African archaeology as *fossiles directeurs*, their use as chronological indicators poses two main problems: firstly, not enough is known at present about trade patterns to confidently determine the time of introduction of particular bead types to the West African coast, which might be substantially later than their manufacturing date. Additionally, the social and ritual importance of beads keeps them in circulation long after their original purchase, which further muddles their chronological resolution (DeCorse 1989, 43-9). Bearing these limitations in mind, however, beads do offer reliable *teminus post-quem* which in the absence of prior chronologies can be extremely helpful for defining local chronologies.

Several classification systems have been suggested for glass beads (Beck 1928; Van der Sleen 1967; Kidd & Kidd 1983; Karklins 1985). For the description of the Upper Casamance beads, I have employed an attribute-based system similar to that delineated by DeCorse (1989) and Decorse *et al*. (2003), recording variables for size, shape (see Fig.10.13), and structure, manufacturing techniques, colour, and decoration (see Table 10.3). Additionally, unlike other types of materials, for beads we have access to some of the typologies employed by the makers and traders, through trading logs and historical catalogues, so where possible, the archaeologically retrieved beads have been connected to these historical typologies.

The Upper Casamance Assemblage

We encountered a total of 70 glass beads, 4 from the survey, 26 from Payoungou, and 40 from Korop. In Korop, 75% of the beads came from a single unit (KRP-A), while in Payoungou they were more evenly distributed between units B, G, and F. Beads in Korop were not just more common but also more widespread, as 4/5 units had them, as opposed to Payoungou where only 3/7 did. Beads were predominantly European and made of glass, but the assemblage also included two carnelian beads (one from each site), a brass bead (which is discussed later in the metal section), two ceramic beads (one from each site), two bone beads (one from each site), and a stone bead from Korop. Out of the 70 beads recovered, 64% (45) could be attributed to a particular period. Of these, 50% (35) had been manufactured between the 17th and 19th C, and the rest (10) had been made and sold throughout the 19th C (see Table 10.3).

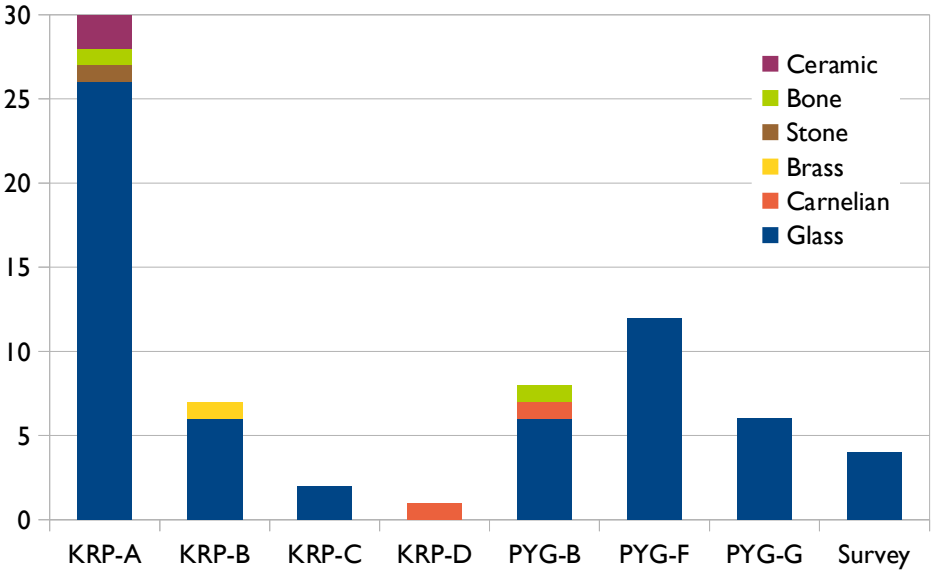


Fig.10.12 Total quantities of beads

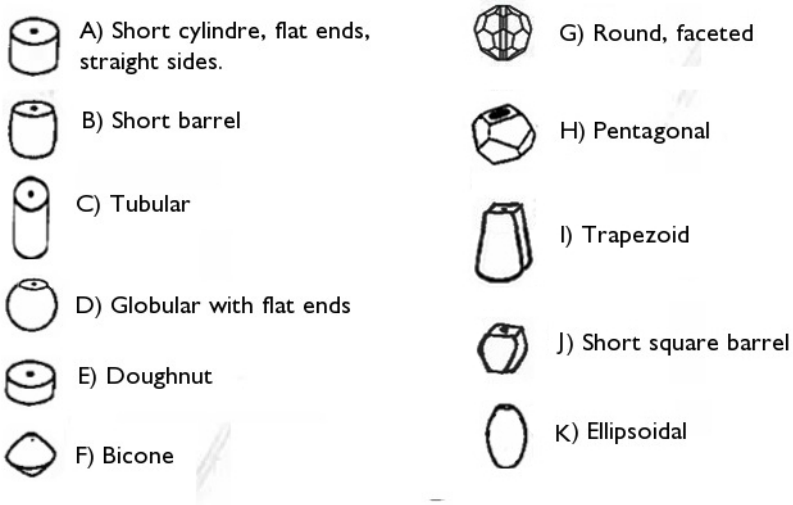


Fig. 10.13 Bead shapes

Table 10.3 Summary of bead data from survey and excavation

SF #	Context	Material	Shape	Diameter (mm)	Length (mm)	Complete	General colour	Type	Origin	A speotail ?	Date
2	Survey-Kabendou	glass	H	19	16		Blue				
8	Survey-Korop	glass	?	16	11		Blue				
9	Survey-M.Sinthian	glass	G	11	7	x	Blue	Blue Russian	Bohemian		First half 19th C
16	Survey-M-Sinthian	glass	K	15	19		White				
24a	PYG-B-2	glass	B	8	8		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
24b	PYG-B-2	glass	B	8.5	9		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
24c	PYG-B-2	glass	B	8	7.5		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
25	PYG-B-2	glass	G	12.5	9.5	x	No colour		Bohemian		17th to 19th
26	PYG-B-2	carnelian	I	9	22	x	Red				
29	PYG-B-4	glass	C	4	12	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
30	PYG-B-5	glass	B	8	7.5	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
39	KRP-A-1	glass	D	9	7	x	Black				
44	KRP-A-2	glass	?	10	12		Yellow				
45	KRP-A-2	glass	A	7	5	x	Blue		European		Ca 1840 and later
46	KRP-A-2	glass	G	8	6	x	Blue	Blue Russian	Bohemian		First half 19th C
47	KRP-A-2	glass	A	7	6	x	Black				1840 and later
48	KRP-A-2	glass	C	4	6	x	Pink/white	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Venetian		19thC and later
49	KRP-A-2	glass	A	4	2.5	x	White				
50	KRP-A-2	ceramic	D	6.5	5.5	x	Black				
51	KRP-A-2	glass	A	7	5	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
52	KRP-A-2	glass	D	5	4	x	Brown				
53	KRP-A-2	stone	D	10	7	x	Brown				
54	KRP-A-2	glass	B	9	6	x	Black				
55	KRP-A-2	glass	B	8.5	9	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
56	KRP-A-2	glass	B	11	9		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
57	KRP-A-2	glass	A	6	6	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
58	KRP-A-2	glass	A	6	7	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
59	KRP-A-2	glass	E	8	4	x	White				
60	KRP-A-2	glass	E	7	4	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
65	KRP-A-3	glass	B	8	6	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
66	KRP-A-3	glass	B	7	4	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
67	KRP-A-3	glass	B	7	4	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
68	KRP-A-3	glass	B	7	6	x	Yellow				
69	KRP-A-3	glass	B	8	6		White				
70	KRP-A-3	glass	J	6	6	x	White				
71	KRP-A-3	glass	I	10	16	x	Brown				
72	KRP-A-4	glass	B	6	6	x	Yellow				
74	KRP-A-6	ceramic	F	8.5	7	x	White				
75	KRP-A-7	glass	B	8	6	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
76	KRP-A-7	glass	E	4	2	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
78	KRP-A-11	bone	A	4	3	x	White				
81	KRP-B-2	glass	B	6	6	x	Yellow				
82	KRP-B-3	glass	A	5	6	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
83	KRP-B-3	glass	G	7	6		White	Galet blanc	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
84	KRP-B-6	glass	J	9	7	x	No colour				
85	KRP-B-7	glass	B	10	7	x	Yellow				19th C
86	KRP-B-7	glass	B	9	9	x	Blue/white	Dutch cane	Venetian ?	x	mid 19th-mid 20th C
90	KRP-B-11	brass	D	8.5	7	x	Brown				
94	PYG-B-8	bone	B				White				
111	PYG-F-2	glass	B	9	10	x	Blue/white	Dutch cane	Venetian ?	x	pre-1817
120	PYG-F-3	glass	B	2.5	2.3	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
123	PYG-F-6	glass	E	5.4	3.1	x	Red				
126	PYG-F-6	glass	B	6.3	0.5	x	Yellow			x	pre-1817
131	PYG-F-8	glass	A	3.7	3	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
137	PYG-F-9	glass	B	7.4	6		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
141	PYG-F-10	glass	C	7.2	10	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
150	PYG-F-14	glass	A	3.2	2.5	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
160	PYG-F-19	glass	C	4.5	16	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
177	PYG-F-26	glass	B	8.6	8		Red		Venetian		Mid to late 1800
190	PYG-F-27	glass	C	4	9	x	Red		Venetian		17th to 19th
176	PYG-G-3	glass	D	10.3	8	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
194	PYG-G-3	glass	A	6.3	4	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
195	PYG-G-6	glass	B	8.4	8.4	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
196	PYG-G-6	glass	B	6.3	4	x	Black				
203	PYG-F-29	glass	B	4.8	7.3		Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
207	PYG-G-13	glass	A	8.3	8.4	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian		17th to 19th
211	PYG-G-18	glass	A	3.3	3.2	x	White	Galet blanc	Venetian		17th to 19th
216	KRP-C-4	glass	B	7.5	8.1	x	Red	Galet rouge	Venetian	x	17th to 19th
218	KRP-C-4	glass	C	4.6	5.5		Pink/white	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Venetian		19thC and later
236	KRP-D-2	carnelian		11.1	17		Red				

Venetian beads I: galet rouge and galet blanc

Out of the beads that could be identified to a type, Galet Rouge were the most common. Also known as 'green hearts', these are siena red on transparent green compound drawn beads; while *galet blanc* are white on white drawn beads. Both were made in Venice between the 17th and 19th C. In the 18th C, the archives of the British Royal African Company show how 1000 *galet rouge* were equivalent to £4 (Opper & Opper 1989, 8). They are mentioned as an important part of the trade with Africa as early as the 1680s (Cultru 1910, 107 in Opper & Opper 1989, 15). Galet rouge beads were also mentioned in Pommergorge's (1789) list of trade items for the coast of West Africa, and in the 19th C Hyacinthe Hecquard (1853, 195) described how:

> 'De même encore que leurs femmes, ils se ceignent les reins avec ces rangs de perles rouges our blanques qu'on nomme à Saint-Louis *galet'* [2]

A total of 24 *galet rouge* and 7 *galet blanc* beads were found at Payoungou and Korop, representing 34% and 10% of the assemblage, respectively. *Galet rouge* were more common in Payoungou than in Korop (15/9), while the opposite happened with *galet blanc* (2/5).

Fig. 10.14 Galet rouge and galet blanc beads (#75,#160,#216, #203,#60, #58)

Venetian beads II: Cornaline d'Aleppo and other 19th C beads

Cornaline d'Aleppo is the name used in bead catalogues for either drawn or wound two-layer compound beads with a white or yellow inner core and a red or pink exterior. They were produced in Murano (Venice) from the early 1800s to the 1960s, and commonly appear in 19th C bead sample cards as associated with the African trade (Picard & Picard 1988), as well as in trade descriptions by explorers

2 'Like their women, they gird their waist with rows of these red or white beads which in St Louis are called *galet'*

and traders (e.g. Pommegorge, 1729). Also known as 'white hearts', they are commonly found in Senegambian sites (e.g. Thiaw 1999, 336-69; Richard 2007, 622; Gokee 2012, 635). Two of them were found in Korop (units A and C), none in Payoungou.

Three other 19th C beads were encountered, two drawn cane beads with a dark blue exterior and 25 thin white strips parallel to perforation (SF #86 & #111), and one with alternating white-black white stripes on red with a transparent green core (SF #216), which correspond to DeCorse *et al*'s (2003) types 81 and 83, respectively.

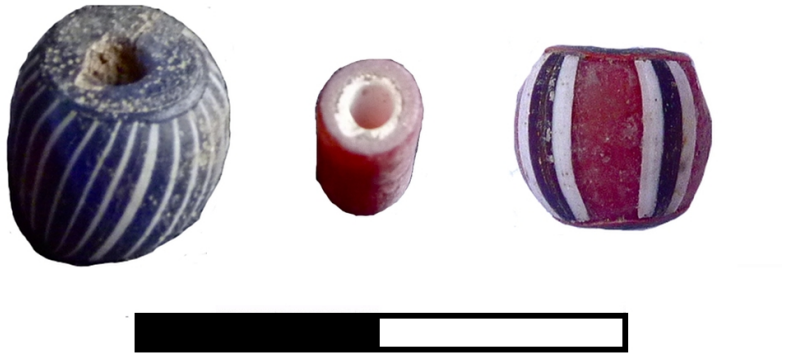


Fig.10.15 19th C Venetian Beads (#86,#48, #177)

Bohemian beads: Russian blues and others

Bohemian beads of drawn and moulded manufacture, including the ones often called 'Russian blue', became common in the 19th C Senegambian trade. Made in factories in Bohemia (currently Czech Republic and eastern Germany), these beads were ground by hand at each angle creating a multi-faceted effect, and are a common appearance in historical bead sample cards (Picard & Picard 1989). Four instances were recorded, found during the survey (1), and in excavations in Korop (1), and Payoungou (2).

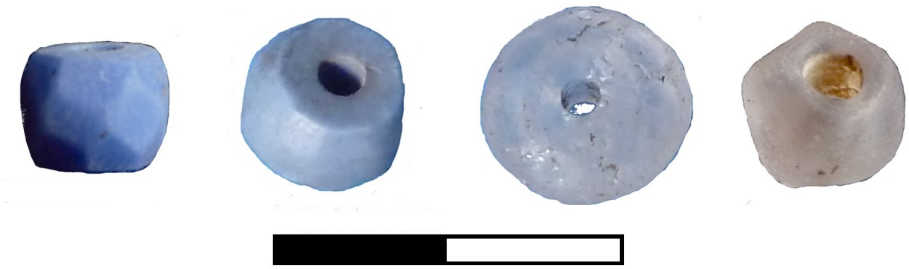


Fig.10.16 19th C Bohemian beads (#46, #09,#25,#84)

Non-glass beads

Carnelian is a form of red to reddish brown microcrystalline quartz, sometimes called agate when it presents bands. Carnelian beads are a relatively common occurrence in Senegambian sites from the late first to the late second millennium AD (Bocoum & McIntosh 2002, 179; Chavane 1985; Gokee 2012, 636-637; Thiaw 1999, 210). While no sources of carnelian are known in the Senegambia, there have been documented sources in Mali (in the Adrar des Iforas and near Gao), but imports from sources as diverse as Egypt and India have also been reported (Insoll & Shaw 1997, 15; Insoll *et al* 2004) .

Two carnelian beads were found during excavation, a complete one from PYG-B, and a fragmentary specimen from KRP-D, both with bands, and found in Fulaadu and Kaabu period deposits, respectively Unfortunately, without compositional analysis, their origin cannot be determined. Finally, two ceramic, a stone, a brass, and two bone beads and one stone beads were recovered from Korop and Payoungou.

Fig.10.17 From left to right, carnelian (#26,#236), stone (#53), and ceramic (#74)beads found during excavation

10.4 Metals

A total of 37 metal objects were recovered from excavations, of which 29 (78%) were made of iron, 6 (16.22%) of brass, one of bronze, and one combined elements of iron and brass. They included 9 pieces of jewellery (including earrings, a chain, a pendant, a bead, and a ring), 3 gun parts (all from Payoungou), a braiding tool (SF#129), a small spoon (SF#62), as well as 18 objects which were too fragmentary to identify.

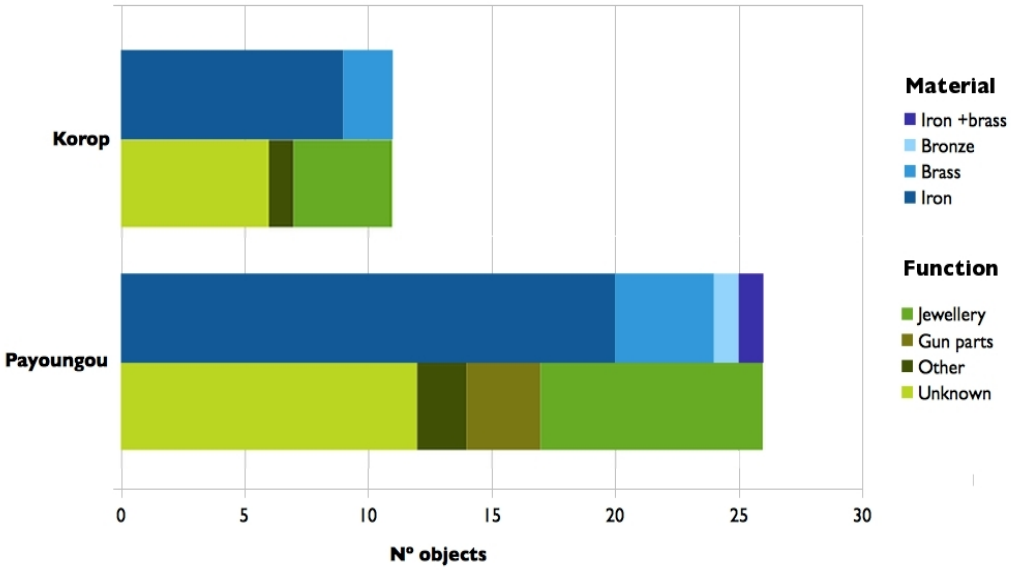


Fig.10.18 Metal finds by type and site

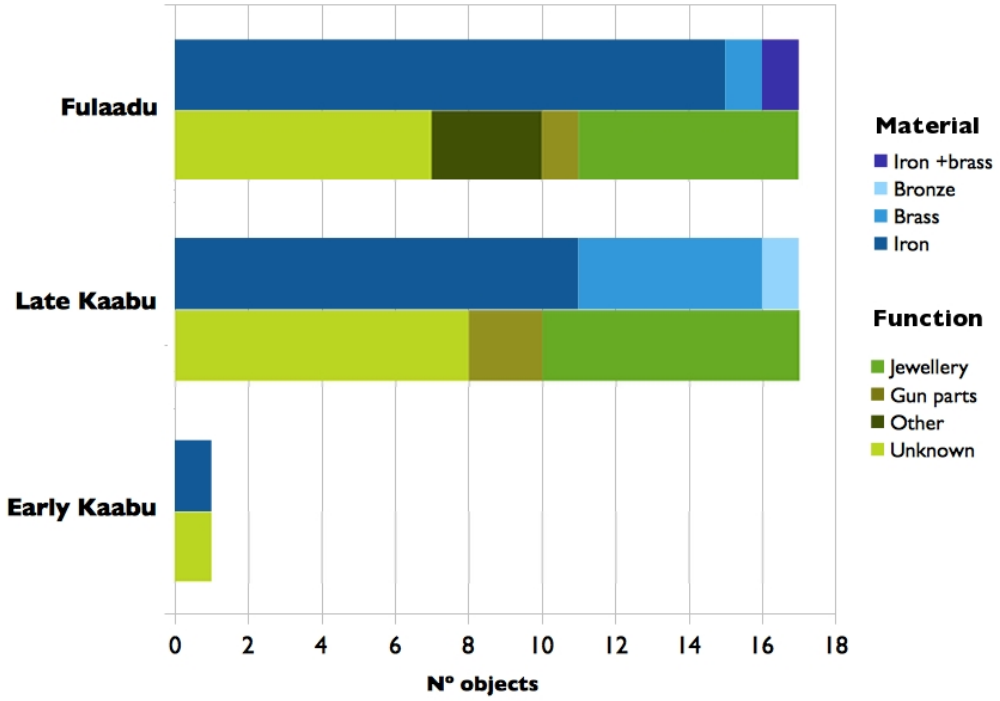


Fig.10.19 Metal finds by type and period

Iron

Out of the 29 iron objects encountered, 69% (20), came from Payoungou. Overall, iron objects were more common in Fulaadu contexts than in Late Kaabu ones (11/15), but by a margin that could be down to sampling. Only one iron object was retrieved from Early Kaabu contexts and none from pre-Kaabu deposits. This temporal distribution differs markedly from that of iron slag (see Fig.10.20), which is most common in pre-Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaadu contexts, in that order. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that all of the pre-Kaabu slag came from a single unit, PYG-A, which had also the only iron furnace encountered during excavation, and thus might not be representative of the period as a whole. What is clear, however, is that both quantities of slag and of iron objects were significantly higher in Payoungou than in Korop. In both sites, iron objects were not just the most common, but also the most diverse, including jewellery (7), gun parts (3), a hair braiding tool, and what elders interpreted as a tobacco measuring implement (see Fig. 10.25).

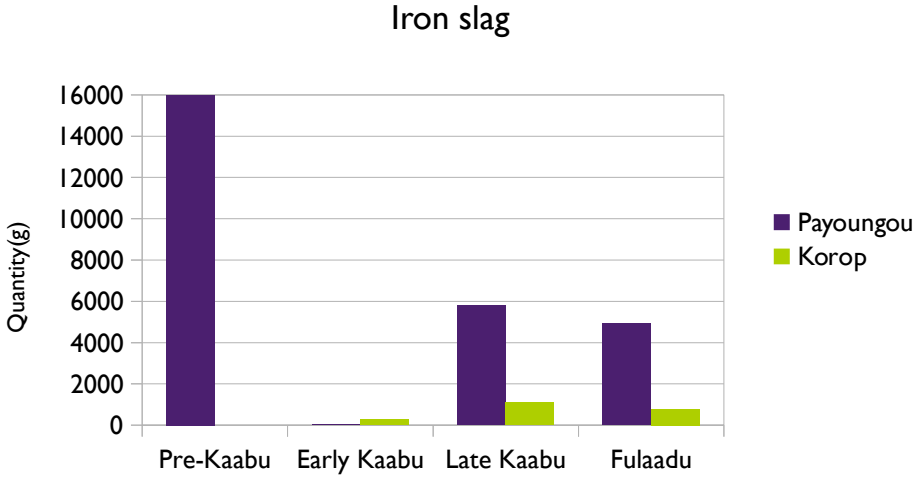


Fig. 10.20 Total quantities of slag by period

As was previously discussed, the analysis of the iron slag undertaken by Lina Campos (2014) revealed that iron was smelted in both Payoungou and Korop, in the pre-Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, respectively. This analysis, however, was based on 14 samples so it is likely that smelting occurred in other periods as well. In fact, we have historical confirmation that iron smelting was common in Early Kaabu, as the Portuguese Alvares de Almada, writing in the 16th C, noted how:

'Iron can be obtained in this river : (the ore) is dug locally. The blacks smelt it, and make bars one hand-span long, and three fingers wide at one end and two fingers wide at the other' (Almada 1594, 53)

It is possible, however, that some iron might have been imported, especially for the later periods, as three centuries later Dorchard reported that:

'the soil, for the most part, is an ochre-coloured clay intermixed here and there with small fragments of ferruginous stone, which, in several places, makes its appearance above the surface in the form of large rocks. Some small eminences are entirely composed of this rock, which the natives say contains a large proportion of iron, but, from the facility the river affords them of procuring an abundant supply of that metal from the English merchants, they do not now think it worth the trouble of extracting. The blacksmiths of the country say, that it is more malleable than English iron, and better suited to all their wants, were the process of obtaining it not so difficult' (Dorchard 1825, 57).

Although the available evidence is limited, and therefore all conclusions are tentative, a gradual decline in iron production due to availability of quality iron via Gambia trading routes is in accordance with the archaeological evidence, which presents a gradual decline in quantities of slag over time, as well as greater presence of slag overall in the site furthest from the Gambia (Payoungou).

One element which was definitely traded, at least initially, was fire-arms. While there are records of muskets obtained across the Sahara prior to the 17th C, firearms do not appear to have had an impact on patterns of warfare in West Africa until their arrival via the Atlantic trade (Law 1976, 122). In the second half of the 17th C, European traders started to bring large quantities of firearms for sale on the West African coast, and the development of cheaper and more reliable flintlocks in the 1690s, led to the real switch from spears and bows to firearms in West African warfare (Law 1976, 122; Richards 1980, 44). In fact, the number of guns imported to the Senegambia increased eightfold between 1718-1750, and their price decreased by over 40%. Quantities of gunpowder also doubled, while its price dropped to a quarter of what it initially had been (Richards 1980, 49). It is important bear in mind, however, that in this case there is no correlation between firearm sales and the slave trade; in fact the slave trade was already declining by the 1730s, when bulk firearm sales were starting, and the import of guns reached its height by the 1830s, when slave trade had practically ceased (Richards 1980, 49).

Although only three gun parts (see Fig.10.21) and five gunflints (see below) were encountered during excavation, firearms played a key role in oral traditions

about the last two centuries, and several elders still had their great-grandfathers muskets (see Fig.10.22) which reportedly were used in Kansala and other battles during the Kaabu-Fuuta war in the mid-19th C

Fig. 10.21 Excavated iron gun parts (#147,#112,#198)

Fig.10.22 Left: Samba Sane from Muntumba showing his grandfathers gun. Right: Racine Tall (Tukolor), head of the troops of El Hadj, in Koundian, in Mage 1868.

Fig.10.23 Flintlock mechanism kept by an elder in Payoungou

Copper-based alloys

Seven brass[3] objects were retrieved during excavation, five in Payoungou and two in Korop. All but one were pieces of jewellery, including a bracelet, two pendants, a chain, and a ring. The remaining item was a small spoon (SF#62; see Fig.10.25) which the elders in Payoungou claimed served as a smoking pipe implement. Brass objects were more common in Payoungou than in Korop (5/2), but the absolute numbers were too low as to derive any significant conclusion from this difference. The manufacture of the brass items was finer and more intricate than that of iron objects.

The composition of the brass small finds was determined with an Innov-X System with a Delta XRF analyser using the Alloy Plus mode without collimator, and the results are summarised in Table 10.4. As for their origin, five of these objects came from royal *tata* areas, the ring was found next to the burial in PYG-G, and a bracelet fragment which contained both iron and brass elements was retrieved from the most recent horizon in PYG-C. Period-wise, five were found in Late Kaabu contexts, and two in Fulaadu ones. One bronze item was also encountered in PYG-A, a small (2x2x0.8cm) concave object with exterior striations probably made through lost wax casting, but whose function could not be determined.

3 The distinction between brass and bronze was made on the basis of the two principal components of the alloy: those which the pXRF showed to be made mainly of copper and zinc/lead were considered brass, while those whose main components were copper and tin were identified as bronze.

Table 10.4 pXRF results for copper-based alloys

SF#	Object	Cu	Zn	Pb	Fe	Ni	Sn	Ti	Ag	Bi	As	Mn	Sb
19	unknown	58.30	4.48	4.38	1.50	0.13	28.95	0.79	0.43	0.06		-	0.96
62	spoon	71.96	14.41	6.10	0.78	-	0.55		3.86	-		0.01	-
90	bead	77.77	17.72	3.60	0.37	0.11	0.12	-	-	-	0.09	-	-
99	bracelet	78.40	9.05	7.88	2.66	0.03	0.86	1.02	-	0.08		0.02	-
134	pendant	77.57	7.19	10.87	2.28	0.04	0.82	0.88	-	0.20		0.02	0.10
149	chain	78.99	11.69	8.13	0.56	0.05	-	0.23	-	-	0.34	-	-
165	pendant	84.10	11.04	1.22	2.82	0.08	-	0.63	-	-	0.09	-	-
208	ring	70.79	12.53	12.68	1.82	-	-	1.69	0.24	-	-	-	-

Unlike iron, sources of copper were not available locally, and therefore copper ore or finished copper objects would have had to be imported. The closest known source of copper ore are the Akjoujt mines in Mauritania, from which artefacts in mid-1st millennium BC to late 1st millennium AD sites along the Senegal and Falemé rivers have been shown to come (Deme & McIntosh 2006; Thiaw 1999, 219-22). Additionally, copper was also imported from Europe, as documented by historical written sources, such as the 15th C Genoese trader Antonio Malfante, who reported how:

> 'The wares for which there is a demand here are many but the principal articles are copper, and salt in slabs, bars, and cakes. The copper of Romania, which is obtained through Alexndria, is always in great demand throughout the land of the Blacks' (Letter of Antoine Malfante in 1447, in Crone 1937, 89).

A century later, Alvares de Almada (1594, 47) cited copper bracelets and copper scrap as two of the most traded items in the Gambia; and in 1686, Dapper (1686, 240) added brass bracelets to the list. Consequently, and pending a detailed compositional analysis, the origin of the Payoungou and Korop copper cannot be determined, but it was doubtlessly the result of long-distance trade links, whether European or African. Overall, its imported origin, together with its lower numbers and the greater intricacy and finesse of the manufacture when compared to iron objects, the ornamental nature of the items, and the fact that it is largely found in royal areas, would indicate that copper was in fact a prestige good only accessible to some parts of the population.

Fig. 10.24 Jewellery. Top row: brass (#149,#165,#90, #208), bottom row: iron (#157,#122,#159)

Fig.10.25 Other metal objects. From left to right: brass spoon (#62), unidentified bronze object(#19), iron hair braiding tool (?)(#129)

10.5 Other imports

European ceramics and flasks

A very fragmentary collection of European ceramics was recovered from surface collections and excavation. The largest assemblage came from Korop's surface, and included pieces of magenta annular painted white ware, tin-glazed earthenware, brown-glazed alkaline stone-ware, as well as a fragment of semi-porcelain, all produced in the 19th C and too fragmentary to assess form (see Fig.10.27). The only other site with imported ceramics on the surface was Thiara (UC-23), with a sherd of 17th-19th C stoneware. Five European sherds were found during excavation: a piece of 19th C milkglass and a very small magenta painted white-ware sherd from Korop; and two pieces of Mediterranean alkaline-glazed stone ware (1775-1900), and a piece of Westerwald ceramics (1700-1780) from

Payoungou. This latter, appears to have belonged to a tankard, as indicated by its similarities with a complete example found in the cargo of a ship that sank of the coast of Stockholm in 1628 (see Fig.10.26 & 10.28). Additionally, a complete mould blown bodied perfume bottle dating to the second half of the 19th was found during the surface collection at Korop, and a matching but more fragmentary specimen was found in the upper horizon of KRP-C (see Fig.10.27)

Fig.10.26 Right: sherd encountered during excavation(#193). Left: Westerwald jug found in a 1628 shipwreck off the Swedish coast. Photo: The Vasa Museum/the Swedish National Maritime Museums.

Fig.10.27 Perfume bottles from Korop

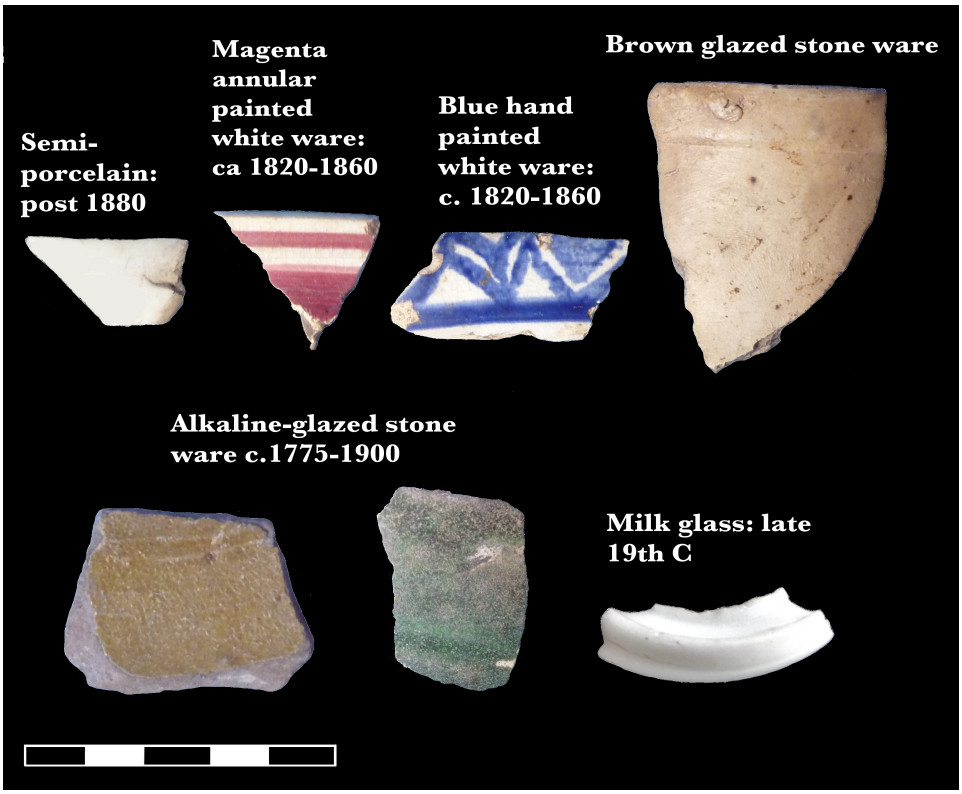


Fig.10.28 European ceramics encountered during survey and excavation (#11d,#11c,#11b,#11a,#31,#34,#42)

Gin bottles

Although glass was relatively common in both surface and excavated contexts, in most cases it was so fragmentary it was impossible to determine the nature of the original vessel. The one exception to this pattern were case gin bottles. As with ceramic imports, the greatest and most complete concentration of case gin bottles was found on Korop's surface, in the central *tataji* area between Korop Maoundé and Korop Sinthian. These were dark/olive green bottles, four-sided and with a square base. The finds included bases, finishes, fragments of side panels, as well as one embossed seal, but no complete bottles. Some presented vertical striations (the so-called 'shingle mould' bottles) (Lindsey 2015), while others were plain or with embossed lettering on the side panels indicating the brand. In one case, enough lettering was present to reconstruct the brand, which corresponded to the Dutch manufacturer E. Kidderlen. All the bottle finishes recovered were tool-finished, which indicates a 1820-1920 manufacture (Richard 2007, 599).

The examples from excavation were significantly more fragmentary, and the only ones that could be confidently identified were a few shards in KRP-A and PYG-B which presented vertical striations characteristic of 19th C 'shingle mould'

case gin bottles (see Fig.10.30). It is probable, however, that some of the other glass shards encountered in Late Kaabu and Fulaadu contexts (no glass was found in pre-Kaabu contexts and only 10g in Early Kaabu ones) could also belong to wine or liquor bottles, but it cannot be established confidently due to the undiagnostic nature of the fragments.

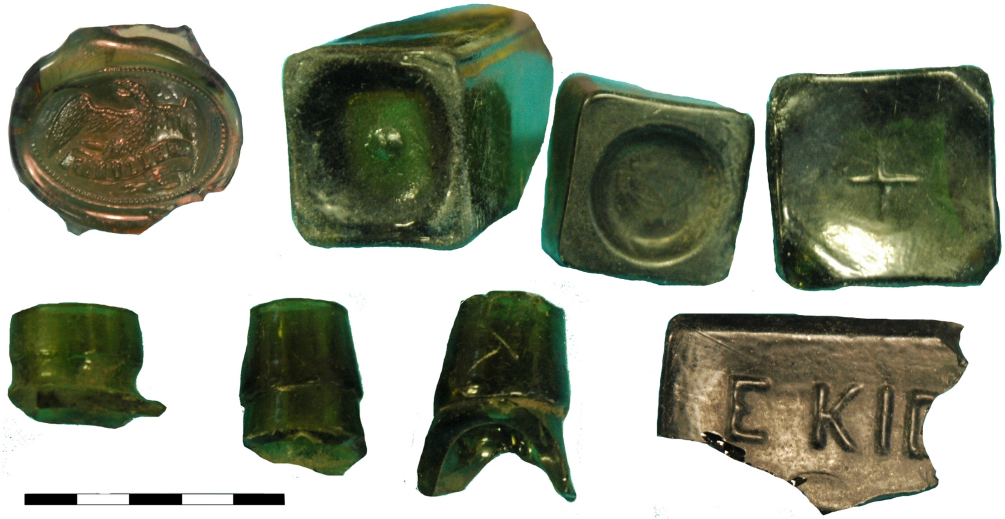


Fig.10.29 Fragments of 19th C gin case bottles found in Korop's surface

Fig. 10.30 Left: complete late 19th C 'shingle mould' case gin (Photo: Bill Lindsey/BLM/SHA). Right: fragments found during excavation.

Gunflints

Four pieces of gunflint, and one gunflint retouching flake were found during excavation, all in Korop. Three came from KRP-A, one from KRP-B, and another one from KRP-C, all from Late Kaabu (2) or Fulaadu (3) horizons. Two of them had been burnt after being broken (and were therefore white), and the rest were grey, which would indicate a British origin (Kenmotsu 1990, 95-6). Contrary to other sites in the Senegambia (e.g. Richard 2007,627), no honey-coloured French gunflints were encountered. None of the gunflints were complete and most showed clear evidence of resharpening or 'rejuvenation', the practice by which the gunflint is rotated to

make use of all edges (Kenmotsu 1990, 106). As was previously discussed, flint-lock guns were one of the key trading items in the Atlantic trade from the second half of the 17th C, but grey British gunflints were only industrially produced and shipped from the 1790s onwards (Kenmotsu 1990, 95). This trade lasted up until the early 20th C, as documented by colonial reports (Roche 1985, 317). It is remarkable, however, that all of the gunflints came from Korop, yet all the gun parts were found in Payoungou.

Fig.10.31 Two gunflints from Korop

Cowrie shells

Cowrie shells (*Cypreae moneta* and *Cypraea annulus*) from the Indian ocean have a long history as trade items and currency in West Africa (Johnson 1970). Mentioned by 15th C Arabic traders (e.g. Almada 1594, 47), they have also been archaeologically documented in sites throughout West Africa from the late 1st millennium AD (e.g. Gokee 2012, 638; MacDonald *et al.* 2009-2011,62; Nixon 2009, 241; Togola 2008, 42). Four fragments of cowrie shell were encountered during excavation, all from the most recent horizon in PYG-G, dated to Late Kaabu, and which bear witness to the vast trading networks of which Payoungou formed a part.

Fig.10.32 Three of the cowrie shell fragments from PYG-G

10.6 Other locally-made small finds

Spindle whorls

Only three fragments of spindle whorls were encountered, two from Payoungou (PYG-G and PYG-B) and one from Korop (KRP-A), two from Fulaadu contexts and one from a Late Kaabu horizon. The only one whose complete shape could be determined (#192), was spherical. Although manual cotton spinning is generally no longer practiced, all older women and many young ones still know how to do it, and during the collection of oral traditions we were offered several demonstrations with spindle whorls they kept at home, suggesting the practice was only recently abandoned.

Fig.10.33 Spindle whorl fragments found during survey and excavation (#192,#41a, #41b).

Fig. 10.34 Woman from Koumambouré demonstrating how to spin cotton using a spindle whorl

Ceramic weights

A total of four ceramic weights was documented. Three of them, including the only complete one came from the surface of Bantanguel Yawayou (UC-43), and the remaining one from the bottom of the rubbish pit in PYG-E. This last had traces of red slip/pain on the surface (see Fig.10.35)

Fig.10.35 Ceramic weights encountered during survey and excavation (#05, #107)

Other finds

Finally, we also encountered four objects which do not belong to any of the previous categories. These include a retouched chert flake (probably LSA) from the top-soil of PYG-A (#250), a sandstone hand grinder with traces of ochre on the surface (#144) from the upper layer of the western pit in PYG-F, a small terracotta fragment with traces of red slip/paint, probably part of a figurine, from the topsoil in PYG-G, and a thimble-shaped ceramic object of unknown use from the most recent horizon in KRP-A, all pictured in Fig.10.36.

Fig.10.36 Other finds: retouched chert flake (#250), unidentified ceramic piece (#95), terracotta fragment (#246), handgrinder (#144).

10.7 Overview

In this chapter I have described the different types of small finds encountered during excavation and survey, from smoking pipes, to metal objects, gunflints, and cowries. In some cases, like beads and smoking pipes, their widespread presence warranted an analysis of distribution and attribute patterns, while in other instances, their reduced number did not allow for such considerations. Given the different nature of the data available for each category, as well as the diversity of object categories in terms of nature, origins, and implications, I will not undertake a joint analysis of the different categories here. Instead, the different categories and their temporal and spatial distribution will be incorporated into the discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11 : DISCUSSION

11.1 Introduction

Having described in the previous chapters the conceptual and factual frameworks on which my research is based, and explored the different types of data available and generated through fieldwork, in this penultimate chapter I bring all the different strands of information together to see how they relate to one another and how their combined analysis can cast light on the themes outlined in the introduction. This analysis will take place in two separate (but interrelated) blocks. In the first, I analyse how the combined data from the previous chapters build on, confirm or challenge the previously available information about the Upper Casamance's chronological evolution over the last 1500 years.

In the second block, I analyse how the evidence retrieved contributes to the understanding of the relationship between power, territory, and mobility throughout the region's history. More specifically, I analyse the nodes and networks that have characterised the configuration of human landscapes, as divided into three separate, but interconnected layers: settlement landscapes, political and military landscapes, and ritual landscapes.

11.2 The Upper Casamance: chronological review

Pre-Kaabu (pre 13th C)

Despite being in the vicinity of areas with documented MSA and LSA occupations, no unequivocal evidence of Stone Age sites was encountered in the Upper Casamance, but this might be due to methodological biases. As discussed in Ch. 5, some of the polishing marks found on lateritic outcrops resemble ceramic LSA sites in Mali (K. MacDonald, *pers.comm)*, but 19th C accounts describe the contemporary use of these lateritic outcrops for tool-sharpening. As the sharpening and polishing marks occur in direct association, it is unlikely that their production was so distant in time. It is possible, however, that these outcrops might have been used for the polishing and sharpening of tools throughout the region's history, and that some of the marks do indeed belong to the LSA, but at present it cannot be confidently stated. The one other piece of evidence indicating a possible early occupation of the region is the LSA scraper encountered in PYG-A (see Ch. 10), but given its singularity and potentially intrusive nature, not much interpretive weight

can be put on it either.

What we do have, however, is strong evidence for occupation from the 7th C AD onwards at Payoungou, with plausible indications of a similar time of foundation for Korop. This occupation pre-dates the Manding arrival in the region and the establishment of Kaabu, and therefore falls within what oral traditions consider 'the period of Bainouk rule' (*watu laamu Bainoukobe*). The pottery of this period is characterised by a very distinctive attribute cluster, which I have called Orange Gritty Ware (OGW), identifiable by its very coarse lateritic grog temper, orange colour, and frequency of certain motifs –Folded Strip Roulette in particular. Although pieces of OGW occasionally appear in later periods, they do so in very small numbers and as isolated occurrences, suggesting they are intrusive. OGW was found in both Payoungou and Korop, as well as on the surface of Thiara (UC-23).

In total, six excavated units had pre-Kaabu horizons (see Fig. 11.1), four in Payoungou (PYG-A, PYG-C, PYG-D, and PYG-E), and two in Korop (KRP-C, KRP-E). None of these included any small finds, and in fact the only pre-Kaabu material culture retrieved other than pottery was slag. While restricted in both material culture and features, these pre-Kaabu horizons did provide some relevant information about the period. In terms of material culture, the most remarkable aspect is how different its pottery is from that of later periods. While it is important

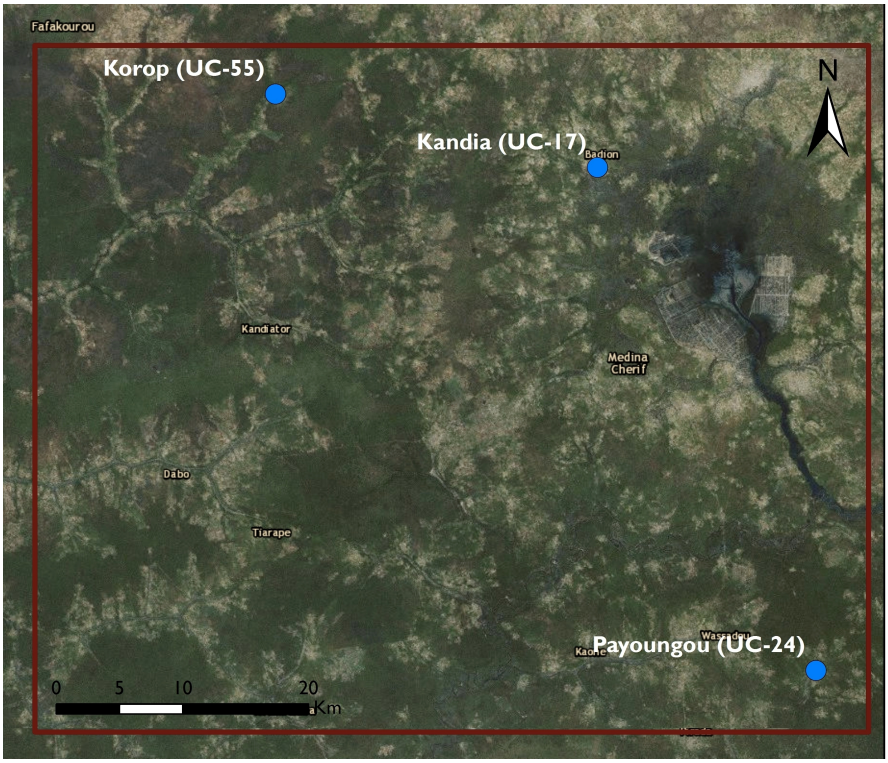


Fig. 11.1 Map with OGW sites. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe.

to avoid simplistic equations between technical, social, and cultural changes, it is nevertheless important to note that what is described by oral traditions as a period of population influx and drastic political changes, is also materially characterised by a clear change in pottery traditions.

Contrasting with this change, however, is the great degree of continuity in site locations, as the three sites with documented OGW (Payoungou, Korop, and Kandia) also went on to become important centres during Kaabu and Fulaadu, and are still occupied to the present day. On the other hand, it cannot be discounted that some 'Bainouk' sites were abandoned, and that we just simply did not encounter them due to a possible bias in our survey methods favouring Late Kaabu and Fulaadu sites (see discussion below). Additionally, the great geographical dispersion of OGW (as Payoungou, Korop and Kandia are located at the corners of the research area, see Fig. 11.1) indicates the whole region was already part of a shared cultural and technical sphere in the 7th C prior to the establishment of centralised polities in the area.

Finally, the study of the slag surrounding the 7th C furnace in PYG-A, demonstrates knowledge of a highly efficient bloomery technique (see Ch. 6 for details), and its location indicates that iron smelting spaces were located in the vicinity of living areas. As for the nature of the settlement, the geographical spread of the four units with pre-Kaabu deposits in Payoungou indicates either a large occupation, or an already shifting settlement, depending on whether the units were strictly contemporary or not, which cannot be established with the current range of C14 dates.

Early Kaabu (13th-15th)

Early Kaabu is by far the least well represented period in terms of material remains, as only two Early Kaabu horizons were identified during excavation (PYG-A and KRP-D). The PYG-A horizon was directly on top of pre-Kaabu deposits, but did not have any features or structures that could shed light on the nature of the occupation. As for the Early Kaabu horizon in Korop, it included a rubbish pit with a late 13th C radiocarbon date. Interestingly, this pit was very similar in size, morphology, and contents to that in KRP-D, which belonged to the Fulaadu period, thus reinforcing the general continuity in material practices from the 13th C onwards. Likewise the pottery from this period is very similar to that of later periods, only distinguishable by a limited variety in rim forms, and different

proportions of sand, grog, and chaff tempers. Only one small find was retrieved from Early Kaabu horizons – an iron stick of unknown function, found in the refuse pit in KRP-D. Nevertheless, given the very limited number of Early Kaabu deposits encountered, this paucity could result from the size of the sample.

While, as previously discussed, the identification of Early Kaabu remains far from ideal (as it is largely based on absence of traits belonging to earlier or later periods, rather than on positive evidence), the scarcity of Early Kaabu horizons cannot be accounted solely by identification issues. This is particularly true in Payoungou, which according to oral traditions would have been Kaabu's power centre during that period, prior to the transfer of the capital to Kansala, yet only yielded one unit with Early Kaabu deposits. Three different explanations could account for this apparent discrepancy:

1) *Payoungou was not a power centre during this period*. Although this cannot be fully dismissed with the available data, I do not think it is likely to be the case. The main reason for this is that oral traditions rarely 'make up' a capital; what they often do is to project the recent importance of a site into the deep past. Payoungou, however, has not played any significant political role in the last three centuries as proven by written sources (see discussion in Ch.3); and post 17th C oral traditions maintain that Payoungou's heyday predated the move of the capital to Kansala, which as discussed in Ch.3, most probably took place around the 17th C. After that date, Payoungou's political role would have been at most that of a regional centre. Consequently, the claim that Payoungou was an early Kaabu capital is unlikely to be based on a retrospective projection of more recent importance.

2) *Payoungou was a power centre but its remains have not been found due to limited/biased sample*. Even though the location of excavation units was guided by a concern for geographical spread and diversity in surface materials and associated oral traditions, large areas of the site remained unexplored, in particular its eastern third and some of the western and northernmost areas. It is possible, therefore, that the Early Kaabu settlement might have been centred in one of the unexcavated areas, and thus not found.

3) *Payoungou was a power centre but not a large settlement*: as shown by the case of the Ségou Empire (see MacDonald & Camara 2012), important historical power centres in West Africa need not be large. It is therefore perfectly possible that Payoungou was a key political and military actor in Early Kaabu, or even the Empire's capital, while being relatively limited in size.

Out of these three options, I believe a combination of 2 and 3 to be the most likely, but further research will be needed before a solid case can be made either way.

As for the survey, the only ceramic trait that could be used to unequivocally identify Early Kaabu occupations was a majority (>50%) of grog and sand temper. Six sites met this requirement: Uraro (UC-27), Kabendou (UC-32), Payoungou (UC-36), Miija (UC-56), and Santanto (UC-57) (see Fig.11.2). The problem of this criterion, however, is that being based on a proportion rather than on presence/absence of a trait, it is easily obscured by the presence of materials from other periods. Thus, sites like Korop, which are known from excavation to have an Early Kaabu occupation, cannot be recognised as such on the basis of their surface material alone. Additionally, since the identification of sites during the survey was based on a combination of local knowledge (best for recent periods) and surface pottery (only visible in cultivated areas, generally near current villages), it is possible that the survey methodology favoured continuously occupied or recently abandoned sites, at the expense of those abandoned during pre-Kaabu or Early Kaabu times.

Consequently, while our understanding of the Early Kaabu period is still limited and constrained by methodological caveats, a few general trends can be discerned: first, that at least in some cases, Early Kaabu occupation took place in sites which were already inhabited in the pre-Kaabu period, suggesting some degree of continuity with the previous period. At the same time, this transition is also marked by a notable change in pottery traditions across the region, suggesting a degree of cultural/social/demographic change. Finally, while the evidence is still limited in this sense, there are indications that early Kaabu political centres might have been significantly smaller, if not necessarily less important or powerful, than described by both oral traditions and European sources.

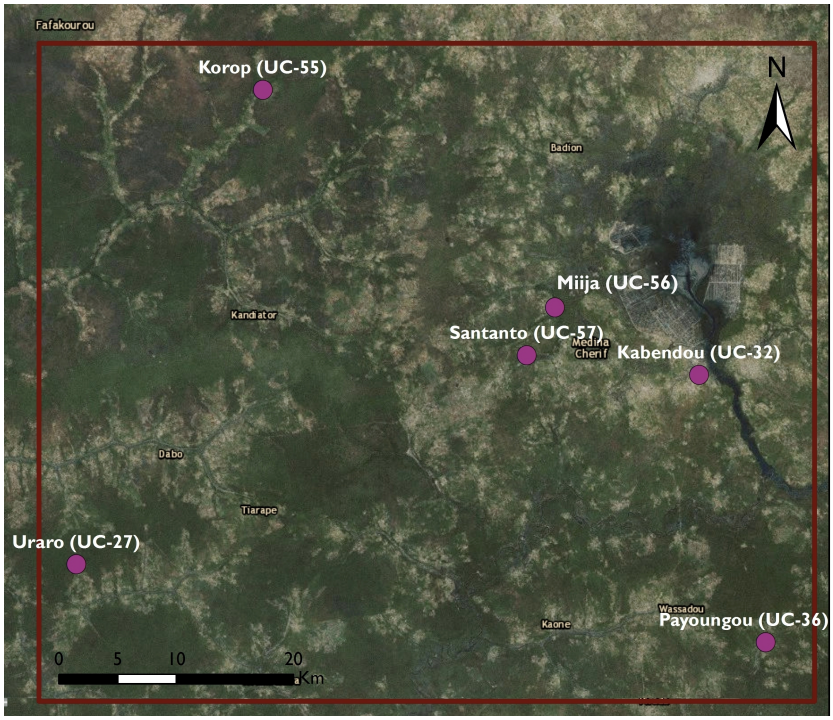


Fig.11.2 Sites with Early Kaabu occupations. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

Late Kaabu and Fulaadu (16th-19th C)

Contrasting with the limited evidence available for the pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu periods, the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu evidence is abundant, both in excavation and survey. Although in some cases it was possible to clearly distinguish between Late Kaabu (16th-18th C) and Fulaadu (19th C) deposits, in many others (particularly in Payoungou and for the survey) it was not. Therefore, while the distinguishable cases provide enough information to discuss the similarities and differences between the two periods, those which could not be separated meant that at many levels the analysis had to be undertaken jointly.

Before I discuss the material changes between periods, however, it is necessary to briefly review the nature of the transitions between them. The separation between Early and Late Kaabu was initially defined with practical, rather than historical, concerns in mind. In the absence of any prior chronological sequence, the appearance of smoking pipes in the early 16th C provided an easily recognisable cutting point to divide Kaabu deposits into two equal-length periods, that would enable the study of changes over time. Nevertheless, this transition also coincides with two relevant historical events: the appearance of the first written mentions to Kaabu, and the beginning of the region's large scale participation in

Atlantic trade networks. As for the Late Kaabu-Fulaadu separation, the reason was in this case historical (the collapse of a state and the rise of another) but the cutting point (19th) was largely arbitrary, as the collapse of Kaabu was not a sudden event, but a long process with varied local manifestations.

Consequently, given the historically arbitrary nature of the defined transitions, some degree of continuity between periods was to be expected. Yet, the homogeneity encountered surpassed any expectations: Late Kaabu and Fulaadu ceramics are practically identical, and their only difference with respect to Early Kaabu pottery is the appearance of punctate and, in some cases, incised decorations, as well as slightly different temper proportions. The only significant departure from previous periods is that for the first time, there is a marked divergence between the Payoungou and Korop assemblages: incised decorations, which represent up to 7% of Payoungou's Late Kaabu/Fulaadu assemblage, are completely absent in Korop.

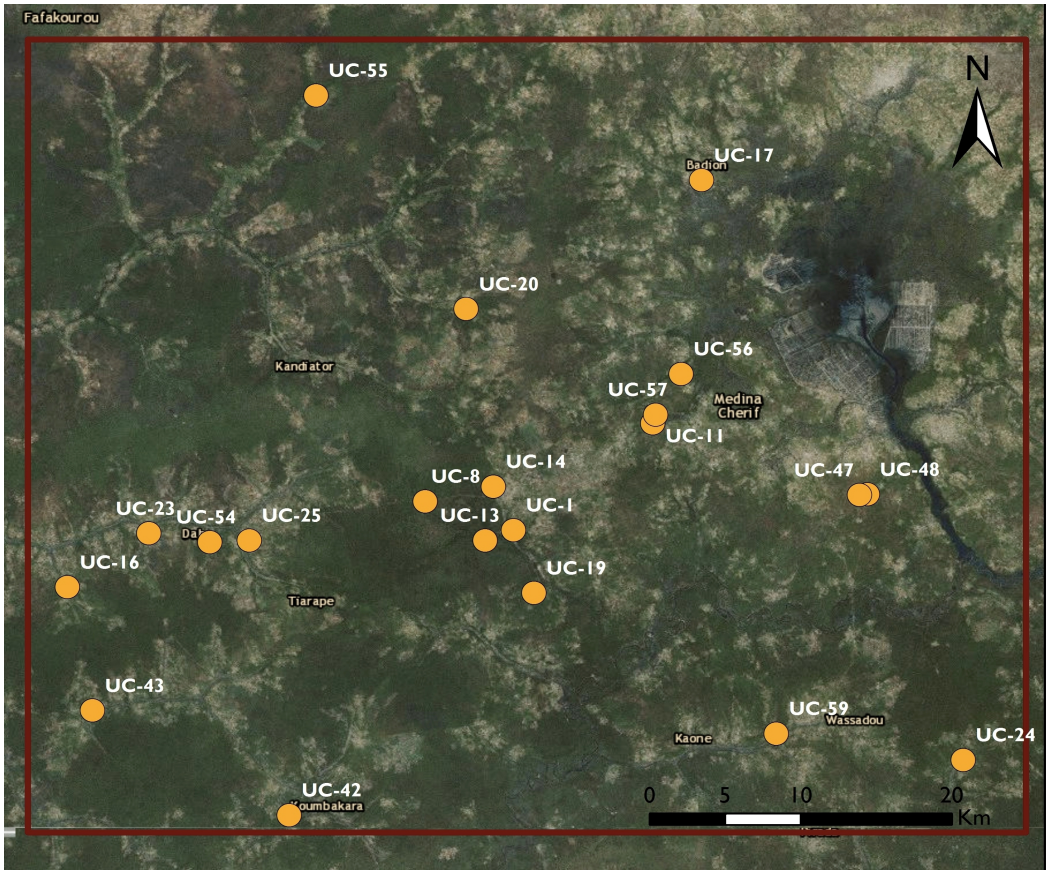


Fig. 11.3 Late Kaabu/Fulaadu sites. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

In relation to the survey, the appearance of punctate and incised decorations enabled the identification of 7 sites with Late Kaabu/Fulaadu occupations: Kandia (UC-17), Thiara (UC-23), Payoungou (UC-24), Kabendou (UC-32), Bantanguel Yawayou (UC-43), Koumambouré (UC-53), and Korop (UC-55). Additionally, 14 sites were identified as having been abandoned during the Fulaadu period by local elders, a period for which oral traditions are still chronologically reliable (see discussion in Ch. 5). The distribution of the sites identified as belonging to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods by surface pottery and/or oral histories can be seen in Fig. 11.3.

Trade: smoking pipes and European imports

Pottery aside, there are some significant material differences that distinguish Early from Late Kaabu/Fulaadu. The first one is the appearance of smoking pipe fragments. Although more abundant in elite areas (see Fig.11.5), these appear in all post-15th C horizons, thus confirming the European historical descriptions concerning the widespread nature of smoking amongst local populations (see Ch. 10). As for the origin of these smoking pipes, they are all clearly African, albeit potentially not local, as their very close similarities with other pipe assemblages in the Senegambia suggests they might have been obtained through regional trade networks (see Ch. 10). Whether they were produced in the Upper Casamance and exported elsewhere or vice-versa cannot be determined at present, but either way they testify to the existence of internal Senegambian trade networks in both the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods.

The second difference is the appearance of long-distance imports. In both Payoungou and Korop, the transition to Late Kaabu is marked by the appearance of substantial quantities of such trade goods, including glass and carnelian beads, copper objects, glass containers, and gunflints. Despite having less excavated units, Korop had substantially more imports than Payoungou, especially in terms of glass beads, gunflints, and glass containers (gin and perfume bottles), which is to be expected given its greater geographical proximity to the Gambian trading ports. The one exception to this rule were brass and bronze objects, which were more common at Payoungou, tentatively suggesting copper was obtained through different trade routes. The current sample (8 objects), however, is too small to derive any reliable conclusions.

In terms of chronology, the earliest dated European imports in both Payoungou and Korop are the beads known as *galets* (produced from the 17th C onwards), but as many of the imports remain undated, the presence of 16th C elements cannot be ruled out, especially given how contemporary European documents record items such as beads and copper being traded in that period (cf. Ch 3). As for the evolution over time, there is a clear divergence between the two sites: while in Korop European imports appear only in the Fulaadu period, in Payoungou they are most common during Late Kaabu (see Fig.11.4). While not surprising (since Late Kaabu deposits predominated in Payoungou, while Fulaadu ones prevailed in Korop), this distribution is also noteworthy, as in both cases it correlates with the periods in which each site had a significant political role; thus indicating a direct link between political power and access to imported prestige goods.

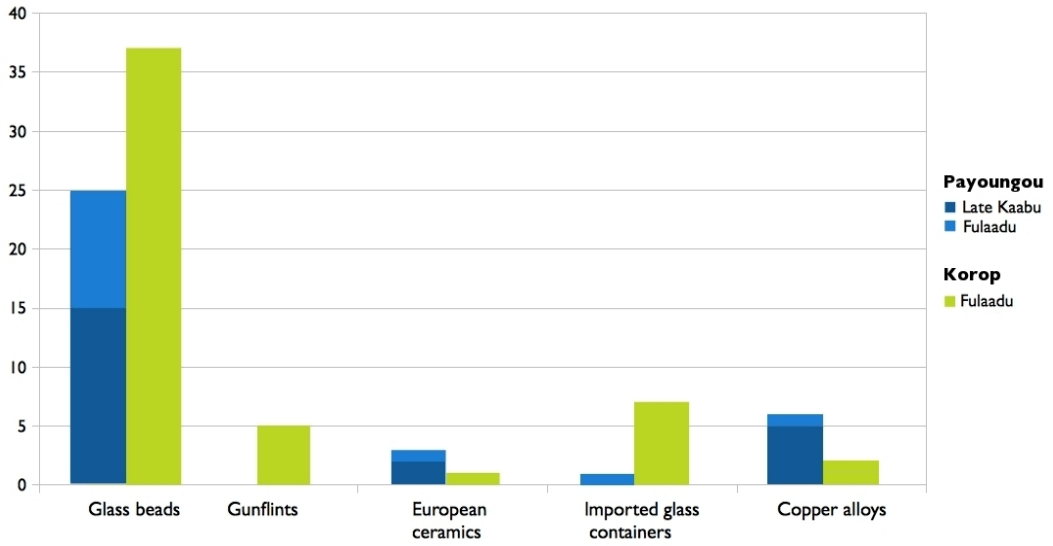


Fig.11.4 Imports retrieved during excavation by site and period

Social inequality: elite areas and feasting

Together with the appearance of imports, another of the new features of the post-15th C era is the first clear evidence of an elite culture. As discussed in Ch. 3 and 4, the aristocratic nature of political organisation features prominently in the region's oral traditions for both Kaabu and Fulaadu. The social importance and lavish lifestyle of the *nyanthio* elites in Kaabu, as well as their Fulaadu equivalents, was also described by European travellers to the region, most notably in Andre Brue's account of the court of the Kaabu *mansaba* Biram Mansaté in the 17th C (see Ch. 3).

The main material expression of this aristocratic system was the network of fortresses or *tataji* which defined the political landscape. A total of twelve *tataji* was documented during the survey, demonstrating a remarkable level of homogeneity in terms of size, shape, and orientation (see discussion below). Three excavation units were placed inside *tata* areas, two in Payoungou (PYG-B and PYG-F), and one in Korop (KRP-A), dated to the 17th-18th C, and 19th C, respectively. Despite belonging to different periods, however, all three *tataji* were associated by local traditions with Manding *nyanthio* elites.

The results of these excavations fully confirm the existing historical narratives about the *nyanthio* elites and their lifestyle, while also adding new information. The most notable aspect of these units was their wealth of material culture: despite representing only 41% of the total number of excavated horizons from all periods, they contained over 70% of the pottery, 60% of the glass, 69% of the smoking pipes, 80% of the metal jewellery, and over 90% of the animal bone encountered, as shown in Fig.11.5. These materials, however, were not evenly distributed: while smoking pipes and European imports concentrated largely on living surfaces, the overwhelming majority of glass and animal bone came from refuse disposal areas (three pits and one midden), which remarkably were present in all three *tata* units. Furthermore, as discussed in Ch.9, the faunal assemblages in these pits and middens were not just quantitatively higher, but also qualitatively different, as they contained 80% of the the cattle encountered during excavation, but only 37% of the ovicaprines (see Fig. 11.5). In addition to animal bone, the pits contained large amounts of pottery, wood charcoal, and ash (the last two generally concentrated in clear layers). The most recent pit – that of KRP-A–, was slightly different in that its upper layer also contained substantial amounts of glass, most of which could be identified as belonging to gin bottles.

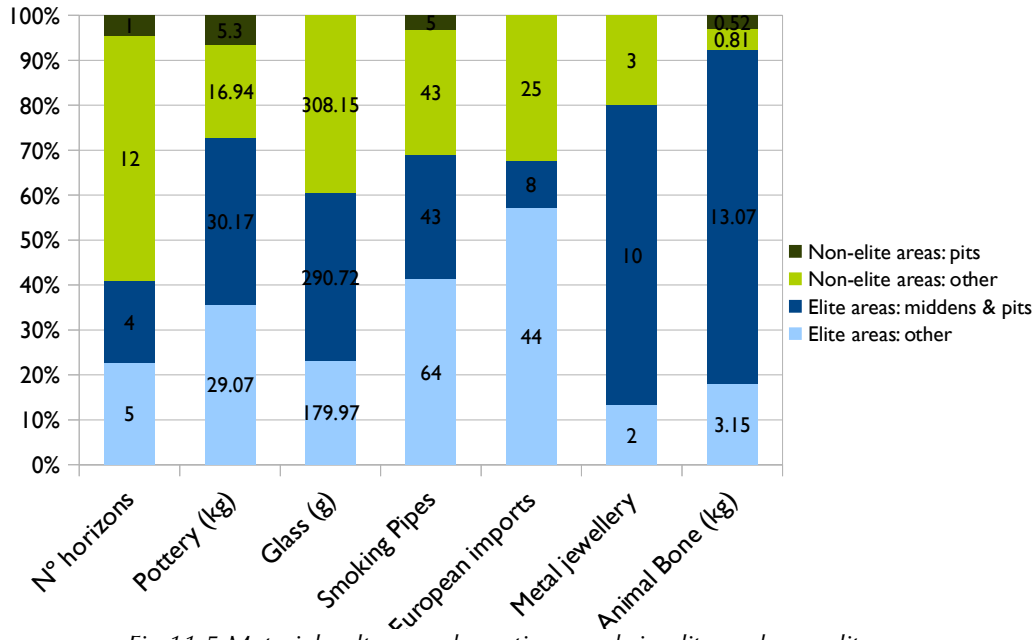


Fig.11.5 Material culture and prestige goods in elite and non-elite areas

Except for the midden in PYG-B, all refuse disposal areas were pits that had been purposefully dug and then filled with rubbish. In some cases (e.g. the western pit in PYG-F) the homogeneity of the fill indicated a single depositional event, whereas in others (e.g. the eastern pit in PYG-F), the presence of distinct layers with slightly different contents suggested a multiplicity of filling events Regarding the nature of these events, the substantial quantities of material per filling event and the size of the animal carcasses involved suggests they were not the result of the accumulation of daily disposal practices, but of large communal events. Moreover, the nature of the material – in particular the great proportion of cattle bones and gin bottles (see Table 11.1) – as well as the location of these pits in elite areas, are highly suggestive of feasting behaviour.

Table 11.1 Pits and midden in elite areas

	Depth (cm)	Period	Pottery (kg)	Animal bone (kg)	Glass (g)	Smoking pipes
PYG-B	20	LK	5	1.67	0	5
PYG-F (W)	30-40	LK	7.93	2.98	70	8
PYG (E)	220	LK	15.31	6.23	70	30
KRP A	60	F	1.93	2.20	150.72	0

Although not explicitly mentioned in European written accounts or oral traditions, feasting events have been archaeologically documented elsewhere in the Senegambia. For instance, in his excavations in the Siin, Richard (2007, 459) encountered multiple pits where the clear delineation of levels, the absence of intermittent 'clean' sediment devoid of charcoal intrusions, and the close contemporaneity of remains across the pit suggested a rapid and limited sequence of filling episodes characteristic of feasting. Likewise, in the northern bank of the Gambia, Gijanto encountered 18th C rubbish pits associated with feasting activities at the trading ports of Juffure and San Domingo. These pits reflected a substantial consumption of oysters, and also included specific pottery types and an unusually high quantity of smoking pipes, suggesting smoking was also an integral part of these events. These feasts, Gijanto argues, were communal displays of wealth intended to assert status amongst elite groups (Gijanto 2011a, 23-32).

Much has been written in the anthropological literature about the social role of feasts (cf. Hayden & Villeneuve 2011 for a review). Feasts have been shown to be inherently political events, connected to processes of power construction, reproduction, and consolidation (Dietler 2001, 66; Richard 2007, 637). They can serve a variety of important structural roles in the broader political economy: as mechanisms of social solidarity to establish a sense of community, as displays that make and remake social boundaries, as competitive strategies to defeat rivals, or as a combination of the above, among other functions (Dietler 2001).

At present the evidence from the Upper Casamance is not sufficient to establish the precise role played by these feasting events, but some aspects are worth noting. Firstly, that all the feasting pits are located in elite areas (as identified by oral traditions and by the prestige goods in them), and are specifically associated with Manding rather than Fulbe aristocracy (according to local elders). Secondly, that the pits contain a much higher proportion of cattle than any other excavation area, either elite and non-elite. This emphasis on cattle is meaningful since as discussed in Ch. 3, Manding *nyanthio* elites did not keep cattle themselves, but relied on patron-client relationships with Fulbe herders to obtain it. Both Manding and Fulbe agree that towards the end of Kaabu these relationships had become exploitative, and that one of the key ways in which this exploitation manifested itself was through an increased and disproportionate demand for cattle by the *nyanthio* (cf. Int. 18, 25, 30, 31; Bertrand-Bocande 1849b, 58). In the case of KRP-A, the most recent of the pits, the abundance of cattle was complemented with a

large amount of broken case gin bottles, indicating imported alcohol was in some cases also a significant part of these events. Finally, it is important to note that feasting behaviours appear to have been common to elites across the region, as indicated by the similarity of the Korop and Payoungou deposits, which matches oral tradition notions of *nyanthioya,* or shared elite culture.

Therefore, we know that between the 16th and the 19th C, the *nyanthio* elites in both Payoungou and Korop – potentially also across the region – shared a common culture involving feasting events, based around substantial consumption of cattle, tobacco, and in some cases imported spirits, particularly gin. Based on ethnographic comparisons and evidence from neighbouring areas, it is safe to assume that these events served as power building strategies. Whether those strategies were based around coercion or persuasion, cooperation or competition, or inclusion or exclusion; and what particular social sectors were involved in them (the ruler's entourage, the aristocracy, wider networks) is at present unclear.

Turmoil and warfare

One aspect in which the archaeological evidence does not match the information of oral traditions and European accounts, and that is the level of change and insecurity. Both written and oral sources present the transition between Kaabu and Fulaadu as a period of turmoil, with constant shifts in power, increasing slave raids, great instability, and decentralisation. Nevertheless, as has previously been discussed, the archaeological evidence between the 17th and 19th C is characterised by a great degree of continuity. Three reasons could account for this stability: first, that the social impact of these events is over-represented by both written sources and oral traditions; second, that after centuries of coexistence, the Fulbe had largely acculturated to Manding technical practices; and thirdly, that regardless of the changes in the overall composition of the population, that of craftspeople remained stable, thus resulting in a continuity in material practices despite the social and political turmoil around them. These reasons are not mutually exclusive, and in fact, I believe the answer is probably a combination of the three, but the relative weight of each factor is unclear.

Another element which does not have a clear archaeological correlation is warfare. The presence of firearms is very limited (three metal gun parts and five gunflints), and there is no direct evidence for violence, either in the form of burnt layers, debris, or human remains. As will be discussed later, there is no evidence

either for greater mobility than in other periods, but this could be due to the combination of a limited chronological resolution on an already mobile baseline.

In Ch. 4 I discussed how despite being often represented as a case of straightforward replacement, the disintegration of Kaabu and the rise of Fulaadu was in fact a complex process with very different local manifestations. The archaeology of KRP-A provides a concrete example of this process. Located inside the late Manding *tata* in Korop, this unit illuminates three important aspects of the transition: first, it indicates the transfer of power from Kaabu to Fulaadu rulers took place rather late in the 19th C (as several of the imports encountered, such as milkglass and *Cornaline d'Aleppo* beads, were not manufactured until then), probably around the time of Kansala's fall (1860s). Secondly, it shows how the lifestyle of the *nyanthio* did not decline towards the end of Kaabu, as they appear to have feasted, smoked, and bought European goods in substantial quantities right until the abandonment of the *tata*. Finally, the fact Bakary Demba (Fulaadu ruler of Korop, and 2nd king of Fulaadu) chose not to reoccupy the Manding *tata* or to move the power centre elsewhere, but instead to build a new *tata* adjacent to the previous one, demonstrates perfectly the combination of change and continuity which characterised this period.

11.3 Landscape and mobility

Having discussed the information obtained for each of the different periods and how it contributes to reinforce, challenge, and expand on the previously available sources; in this second section I analyse how the data obtained contribute to answer the second set of research questions about the relationship between political power, territory, and mobility. In Ch. 4, I concluded (based on oral traditions and written sources) that five themes had characterised the evolution of the Upper Casamance's political landscapes over the last millennium: the extraordinary resilience of patterns at the local level, the adaptability of regional structures, a gradual trend towards greater centralisation, the political importance of sacred landscapes, and the centrality of mobility for settlement patterns.

I now discuss how the archaeological evidence subsequently presented complements or challenges those themes. I have structured this discussion through the notion of fragmented landscapes presented in Ch.2, seeing landscapes as constituted by a variety of interrelated but conceptually separate layers. More specifically, I have divided the discussion into three components: settlement

landscapes, military/political landscapes, and ritual landscapes. Although interrelated, in the Upper Casamance case, these three layers are defined by different dynamics, nodes, and networks, which justify their analytical separation.

Settlement landscapes : Shifting towns and ephemeral villages

I started this thesis with a premise: that the key to reconciling the apparent divergence between the apparent ephemeral nature of the archaeological record and the permanent towns of oral traditions and European sources lay in a very specific settlement pattern, shifting sedentism, by which towns and villages regularly moved a few hundred meters while maintaining the name, networks, and institutions of the community. In Ch. 4, I described the nature of settlement mobility in the Upper Casamance over the last millennium on the basis of oral traditions and written accounts. From this analysis it became clear that recent mobility patterns in the region are more complex than initially anticipated, as they include both shifts (≤1km) and relocations (>1km), and can involve both whole populations or only certain segments. The combination of these two dimensions results in two parallel phenomena: an ephemeral settlement landscape characterised by the continuous creation and abandonment of minor villages (usually named 'X's village' –*Sare X*– after the founder)*;* and a permanent one of stable yet shifting historical towns. The shifts in the latter can be due to both new arrivals/departures, as well as to internal movements caused by a variety of issues (deaths, *djinns,* change in river courses, field exhaustion, new roads). In exceptional cases, historical towns appear to have been briefly abandoned at the end of Kaabu and re-founded soon after by Fulbe migrants, who despite the break always retained the original name and identity of the town.

Ethnographic evidence and colonial documents confirm these patterns have been in operation for at least the last 200 years, and oral traditions and earlier European accounts strongly suggest they extend further back in time (see Ch.4 for a complete discussion). So does the archaeological evidence: during survey and excavation, the patterns encountered correspond very neatly to the two previously described phenomena (ephemeral villages and shifting towns). At the survey level, three aspects are relevant to this discussion: first, that all sites encountered (including those of historical towns mentioned by European accounts and oral traditions), were flat, or with very little elevation; and that no large tell sites exist in the region. Secondly, that most sites abandoned within living memory had

associated oral traditions directly connecting the remains with both shifts and relocations, thus strengthening the connection between the pattern and its material correlation. Finally, that the sites which oral traditions consider the oldest were also consistently the largest, thus indicating a degree of correlation between size and antiquity, which would be consistent with site shifting patterns. Unfortunately, the extent to which such correlation could be tested was restricted by the lack of reliable total sizes for most sites (as size was calculated on the basis of surface pottery, which was only visible in cultivated areas).

Excavations at Payoungou and Korop have confirmed these observations. Deposits were always very shallow, only exceeding a metre in three cases, due to the presence of rubbish pits. Out of the twelve units excavated, four had been occupied only during a single period, seven had occupations belonging to two different periods, and only PYG-A had evidence of three occupational periods (see Table 11.1). In four cases these occupations took place in consecutive periods, while in the remaining four they were clearly discontinuous. Unfortunately, even in instances where the horizons were undoubtedly discontinuous (on the basis of the material culture in them), there were no clear sterile abandonment layers.

Table 11.2 Periods present in each unit.

		Pre-Kaabu	Early Kaabu	Late Kaabu	Fulaadu
Payoungou	A	■	■		■
	B			■	■
	C	■		■	
	D	■			
	E	■		■	
	F			■	■
	G			■	
Korop	A				■
	B				■
	C	■			■
	D		■	■	
	E	■		■	

Connected to the issue of continuity between periods is that of the length of the occupations, and therefore of the frequency of the shifts. The chronological resolution currently available is limited, but it is clear that except for the iron production horizon in PYG-A, all horizons were occupied for less than 200 years, and there are indications that in most cases it might have been substantially less. For instance, in PYG-G, in less than 200 years, a building was constructed, lived in, abandoned, and subsequently used as a burial area. Likewise, occupations in KRP-

A, KRP-B, and KRP-C, were all under 100 years. Therefore, while the currently available chronological resolution cannot precisely determine how long each area was occupied, in most cases it appears to have been a matter of decades, rather than of centuries.

The third key issue to characterise the nature of the shifts is their direction and range. This is an aspect in which archaeology can provide a long term view not available to any other source, as oral traditions rarely remember more than two shifts (the most we recorded was three in Samasansan, UC-59), and written texts tend to provide only a snapshot of particular arrangements at a given time. Unfortunately, it is also a complex issue whose full elucidation would require far more evidence than that retrieved by this project, but some indications are available. Figures 11.6 and 11.7 summarise the archaeological evidence for each period in Payoungou and Korop. Two elements are apparent from these maps: first, that the pattern of shifts is not regular or linear –in Payoungou the settlement appears to contract and expand from a permanent core in the southern part of the

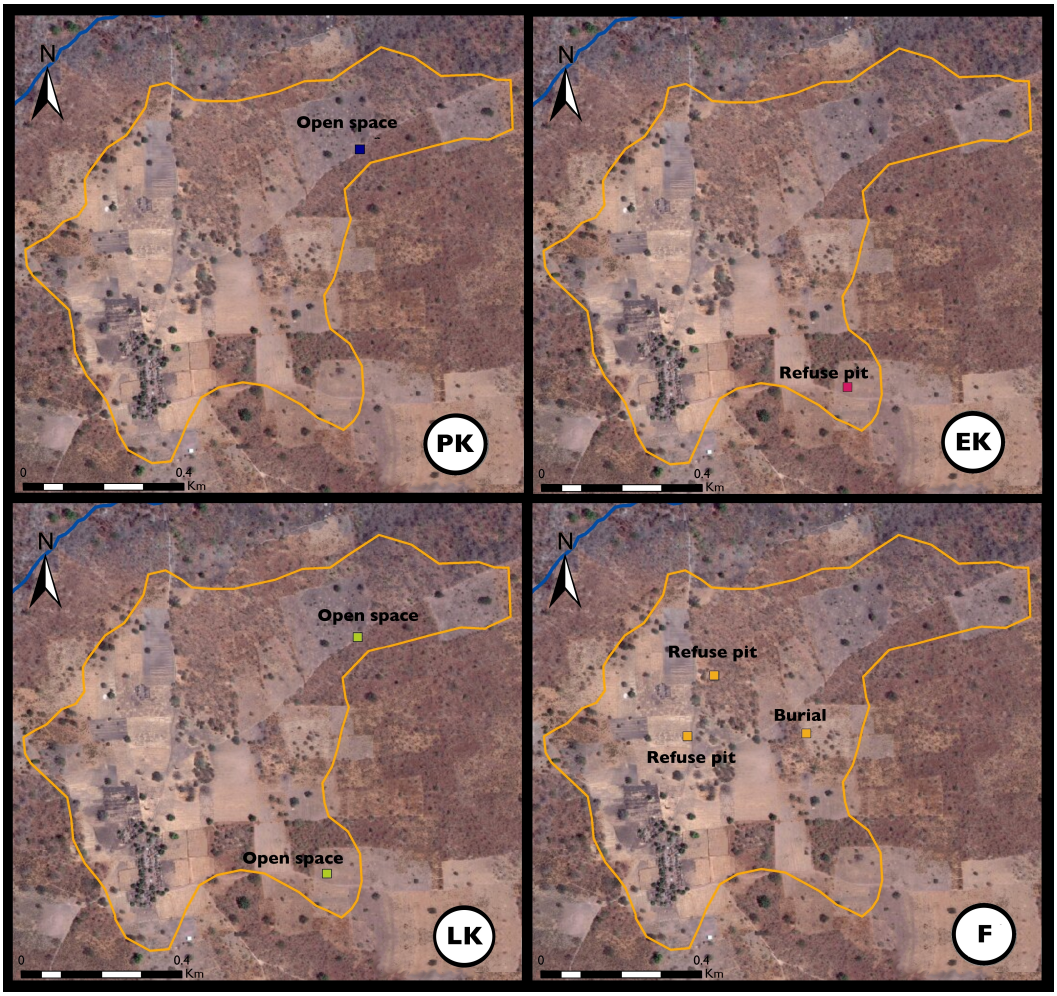


Fig.11.6 Korop over time: excavated evidence in the different periods. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe.

site, whereas in Korop the scarcity of evidence for the earliest periods makes it difficult to discern any patterns. Secondly, in both sites the current village is immediately south of the Fulaadu occupation, suggesting that at least for the most recent period the shifts were to adjacent areas, rather than to new parts of the site.

An important factor to take into consideration is whether areas were reoccupied, or whether shifts always sought new spots. The evidence is not conclusive in this respect: on the one hand, as was previously discussed, there are plenty of areas that contain horizons belonging to different periods; on the other, in most cases only one of those horizons indicates a primary occupation (including structures or other types of features) the rest being characterised by sparse scatters of material culture indicative of a peripheral open space. There are, however, three exceptions to this pattern: firstly in PYG-F, after the closure of the pits, the area became a passage space, as indicated by the compact earthen floor with very small inclusions. Secondly, in PYG-G, a burial was dug after the abandonment of the domestic occupation; and finally, in PYG-E, the abandonment of the coursed earth wall was followed by the digging and filling of a rubbish pit. Out of these three, only PYG-E represents evidence of two domestic occupations, which could

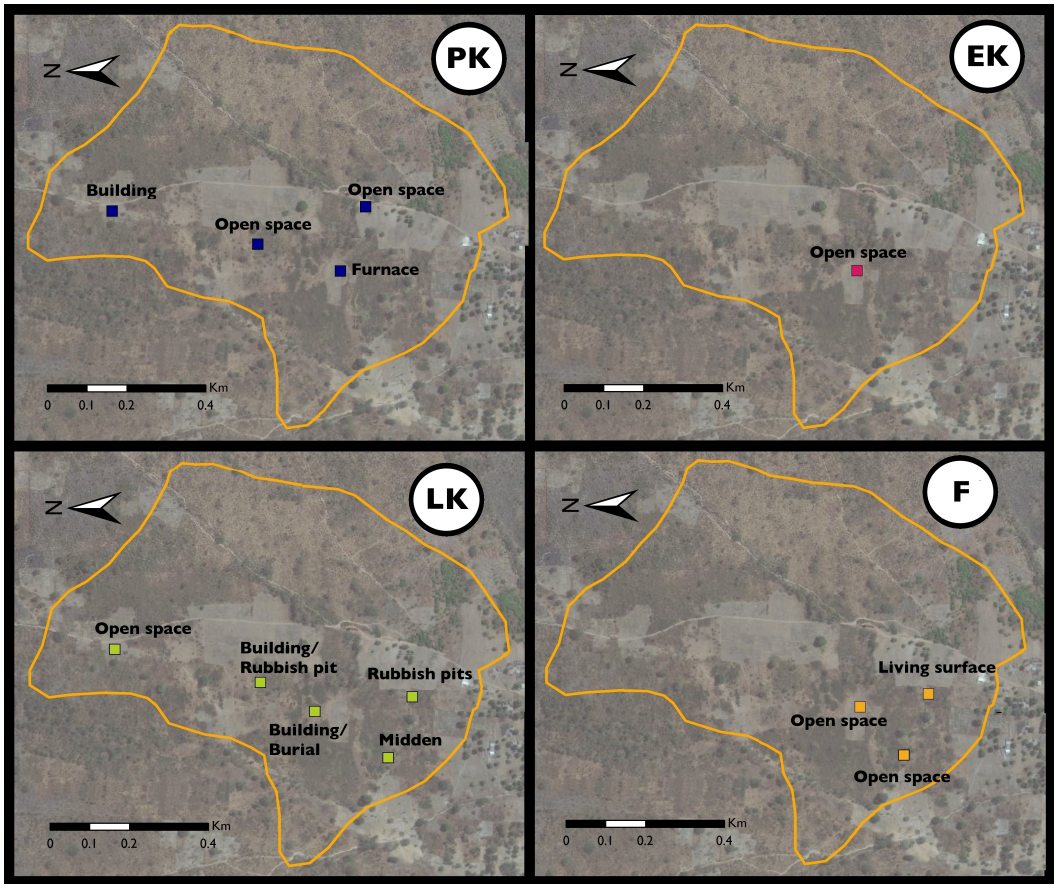


Fig.11.7 Payoungou over time: excavated evidence in the different periods. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

potentially indicate a re-occupation of a previously abandoned area. The two horizons involved, however, belong to the same period (Late Kaabu), so it is possible that they might correspond to two immediately consecutive events, rather than to successive shifts. Consequently, at present all we can say is that reoccupations were not common, but that they might have occurred occasionally.

One final question remains: did all areas of the town shift, and if so, did they all shift at the same rate? Local elder traditions, as discussed in Ch.6, claim the *tata* did not shift, that it was fixed and the village 'orbited' around it. From the previously discussed evidence we know that was not the case, that the *tata* (as exemplified by units PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A) did in fact move, but it is perfectly possible that it might have moved at a slower rate. Distinguishing between such rates, however, is beyond the possibilities of the currently available chronological resolution.

Political and military landscapes : fortresses and territories

In Ch. 4 I traced the evolution of military and political landscapes from the period prior to the establishment of Kaabu up until the present. From this review, it became clear that despite the multiple changes in power arrangements in the region, three key interdependent notions had characterised the political landscapes of the Upper Casamance over the last millennium: territories (*banco/leidi*), power centres or fortresses (*tataji),* and their respective rulers (*mansa/lamdo*). Territories were fluctuating and loosely defined political spaces, identified by a name, a ruler, and a power centre; and comprising the area/people from which a ruler could extract taxes, at any given point in time. The political centre of each territory was defined by a *tata* or fortress where the ruler lived. Both power centres and rulers – and thereby the territories they controlled– could be subordinate to other power centres and rulers, but the hierarchy of subordination fluctuated together with changes in regional power balances. The right to build a *tata* was centrally regulated; as a result, periods of stability were marked by a limited number of fortifications, while times of central weakness resulted in an upsurge in the quantity of *tataji*.

As unmarked spaces, territories cannot be traced archaeologically, but their central nodes, *tataji,* can. As previously discussed, a total of 12 *tataji* were identified during the survey, out of which 6 were visible on the surface or via satellite imagery, and the rest remembered by the elders but not traceable from surface

remains. Their shapes, sizes, and proportions were remarkably consistent, ranging from 40x40 to 80x90m. Except for the rectangular *tata* at Bantanguel Yawayou and the round one in Korop, all recorded fortifications were square or almost square, and with walls (more or less precisely) aligned with the cardinal points, a homogeneity which supports the existence of a shared political/military culture.

While the partial nature of the survey does not allow me to draw any conclusions regarding distribution patterns, three important remarks can be made about the location of *tataji:* first, all towns considered as historical power centres by oral traditions had a *tata* either visible or clearly remembered by the local populations. *Tataji,* however, also occurred in sites not mentioned in either oral traditions or written accounts, such as Bantanguel Yawayoli (UC-43). Finally, all sites with *tataji* had Manding names. In terms of their dating, the contribution of the survey was very limited. Three of the visible *tataji* were not cultivated and two were inside inhabited villages, which meant no surface pottery could be retrieved. Of the rest, only Kabendou had some time-diagnostic sherds, which indicated an early Kaabu occupation.

As for the excavations, we opened units inside or right next to the *tataji* in both Payoungou (PYG-B & PYG-F) and Korop (KRP-A). As discussed earlier, these units confirmed these were in fact elite areas, as evidenced by both the abundance of European imports and the quantities of cattle consumed. Interestingly, only half of the firearm fragments came from inside the *tataji* units, indicating access to them was not limited to the ruler's entourage. In terms of the length of the occupation, the case of Korop is particularly telling, for as previously discussed, unit KRP-A was placed inside the Manding *tata,* and showed this area had in fact been occupied *only* during the Late Kaabu period. Adjacent to it was a larger structure, visible in satellite imagery, which local elders identified as the Fulaadu *tata*. If this identification is correct (and most 19th C traditions appear to be), it would indicate that in some cases, even when a town retained its political role, a change in leadership would entail a new *tata* being built.

Consequently, the combination of the information from oral traditions, survey, and excavation indicates that despite the sturdy appearance of these fortifications (see 19th C French depictions in Ch. 3), *tataji* – together with the political and military landscapes they defined and reflected– were also relatively fluid and transitory, erected and destroyed depending on the balance of power between local, regional, and supra-regional forces.

Sacred landscapes : shrines and spirits

As discussed in Ch. 4, the sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance have long been characterised by a combination of Islamic and non-Islamic notions, with a gradual shift in importance from the latter to the former. Among them, the most important and resilient are *dyalan,* powerful places inhabited by spirits or *djinns,* connected to particular ancestors and epic figures, which anchor myth and history onto the landscape and by doing so confer political gravitas to their associated settlements. The political importance of *dyalan,* now largely symbolic, was for most of the Upper Casamance's history very material, as they acted as oracles that decided upon matters such as the appointment of rulers and the launch of military expeditions.

During the survey, we visited many of the *dyalan* mentioned by epic narratives and elder traditions; 'famous' *dyalan* such as those in Mampatim, Payoungou, or Kabendou, which are still perceived as ancestral power hotspots and permanent markers of once powerful towns. Additionally, we also documented a second set of minor *dyalan,* not known beyond the local area, but which played a key role as embodiments and witnesses of the village's history. In most cases, *dyalan* took the form of trees, or more rarely, of caves and standing stones. For the most part, the trees were still present, either because the *dyalan* was relatively recent, or because the current one was a descendant grown from the seed of the original. In some instances, however, (e.g. Payoungou's Tamba Dibi), the location of the *dyalan* was remembered but the tree itself was long gone.

Thus, out of all the different nodes that have defined the historical landscapes of the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, *dyalan* are those with the least material imprint, yet paradoxically also appear to have been the most stable and permanent. Unlike ephemeral villages, shifting towns, and fluctuating fortresses, *dyalan* do not seem to have moved or varied with changes in political power. Although all great *dyalan* were initially linked to a political centre, their importance often outlived that of the latter, as clearly shown by the case of Payoungou, whose *dyalan* played a central part in the election of the Kaabu *mansaba* long after Payoungou's role as capital was over. Likewise, Mampatim – which according to oral traditions has not had any political importance since at least Early Kaabu–, had active *dyalan* cults up until the 1940s, and is still to the present day a key reference point for Kaabu's history and identity.

At present, however, this analysis is constrained by the absence of any

reliable dates for the antiquity of *dyalan*. While given the organic nature of many of its physical manifestations, in most cases it might not be possible to directly date the *dyalan* themselves, a possible solution lies in the offerings made to the *dyalan*. As discussed in Ch.5, there are reports of ceramic vessels found inside Guedi Nyanthio Be in Mampatim prior to the collapse of the cave's entrance, which if common to other cave *dyalan* could provide a way of dating those particular *dyalan* and the antiquity of their associated cults. For now, however, all we can say is that both epic narratives and local elder traditions consistently present *dyalan* as 'historical anchors', whose perceived – and possibly also factual – permanence greatly contrasts with the fluidity of settlements and political structures previously described.

Connecting fragmented landscapes

Despite being organised around different sets of nodes, networks, rationales, and temporalities, the three previously discussed landscape layers (settlement, political, ritual) were – and still are – also mutually constitutive and in constant interaction. Out of the three layers, *dyalan* are undoubtedly perceived (establishing whether this is also factual will require more research) as the most permanent and foundational landscape element, the ancestral source of power and legitimacy from which the other layers draw from. As such *dyalan* are also deeply political: it is no coincidence that all of Kaabu's – and some of Fulaadu's – major political centres had an associated *dyalan*. The presence of a *dyalan* is thus a mark of current or former political power, even if such power is more ephemeral than that of the *dyalan* itself.

The second most permanent feature of the Upper Casamance's human landscapes are shifting towns. Excavations in Payoungou and Korop have demonstrated that despite their ephemeral appearance, some of these towns were occupied for millennia. Additionally, the survey revealed a clear correspondence between the largest flat sites (which can be putatively identified as shifting towns) and those described as political centres by oral traditions (cf. Ch. 5). It is interesting to note, however, that in both Payoungou and Korop the town pre-dated and also outlived its role as a political centre. It is therefore plausible, that like the *marka* towns of Mali and Ségou (MacDonald & Camara 2012), the shifting towns of the Upper Casamance were independent of political structures but occasionally co-opted by them. In other words, that the more ephemeral political centres sought

historical and/or ritual 'powerful places' (*leydi lammu*), to legitimate their power.

The connection between political and settlement landscapes was not, however, limited to issues of legitimacy. As discussed in Ch. 2 and 4, control over people was a crucial aspect of state power in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, and that also meant controlling population movements and distributions. In fact, both written accounts and oral traditions recount how in Late Kaabu and Fulaadu regional rulers had to be consulted before a new village was established, and how they interfered with settlement patterns, forcing people to abandon existing villages or even actively relocating them for military or economic reasons (cf. Ch. 4). This influence, however, was not unidirectional, as settlement landscapes also shaped political structures. This was the case with shifting towns, as has already been discussed, but also with the more ephemeral landscape of moving villages, which often used mobility as a tool to escape state power (cf. Ch. 4). Thus, to be successful, political structures had to adapt to both the permanence of shifting towns and the ephemerality of moving villages.

11.4 Overview

In this chapter I have brought together the different strands of evidence discussed in the previous chapters to analyse their joint contribution to the themes outlined in the introduction. I have reviewed the information available for each of the different periods, from the 7th to the 19th C AD, and how it fits within existing historical narratives of the region. While the data for the earliest periods is still limited, that from the 16th C onwards allows for more in-depth analyses of elements like trade, social inequality, and warfare, which greatly contribute to our understanding of the region's history.

In the second half of this chapter, I have discussed the evolution of settlement, political, and ritual landscapes over time, and what the articulation and interaction of these can tell us about the relationship between mobility, power, and territory in the Upper Casamance's history. In the following and final chapter, I go back to the original research questions and evaluate to what extent I have been able to answer them, and possible directions for future research.

CHAPTER 12 : CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this thesis, I set up two main objectives for this work: first, to document the archaeology of the region and understand how it compares to that of geographically or culturally related areas. Secondly, to explore the phenomenon of shifting sedentism, its evolution over time, and what it can tell us about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, and about the archaeological implications of its archaeological traces. In this final chapter, I assess to what extent the data and ideas presented in this thesis contribute to answering those questions, what methodological and conceptual lessons can be learnt, and what possible directions future research could follow.

12.1 Back to the research questions and objectives

The archaeology of the Upper Casamance: baselines and chronologies

The first goal of this research was to document the archaeology of this previously unstudied area, to compare it with that of other parts of the former Mali Empire and West Africa as a whole, and to understand how it fits with the information provided by other sources. In this sense, while a large number of gaps remain, the advance has been significant. The survey recorded a dense landscape of past occupations, including abandoned settlements or *tumbuji,* fortresses or *tataji,* subterranean structures or *guide,* stone marks, burials, one stone circle, abandoned colonial structures, and several *dyalan*, as well as their associated oral traditions.

The excavations at Payoungou and Korop uncovered a wide range of deposits, dating from the 7th to the 19th C, including burials, coursed earth walls, rubbish pits and middens, as well as an iron smelting furnace. These provided a significant amount of information regarding social differentiation, trade networks, refuse disposal practices, burial customs, as well as iron technologies. Combining C14 dates and chronologically diagnostic small finds, it was possible to generate a ceramic chronology for the region, characterised by a clear break in ceramic traditions in the 13th C; and gradual changes in the popularity of forms, tempers, and decorative motifs in subsequent periods.

As for the relationship to existing sources, the archaeological information retrieved reinforces narratives from oral traditions and written sources in several

aspects: firstly, it confirms there was a substantial material change in the 13th C, coinciding with what oral traditions say was the arrival of the Manding to the area, an event for which no independent confirmation existed before. Secondly, the material from the royal areas of Payoungou and Korop demonstrates there was indeed a clear elite (or *nyanthio)* culture operating between the 17th and 19th C – potentially earlier as well–, and that this culture and its associated behaviours were common to elites across the region. Finally, excavation confirmed the elders' identification of features not visible on the ground, such as the *tataji* at Payoungou and Korop, or Payoungou's 'traitor' burial area; which indicates a remarkable degree of reliability for spatially-anchored traditions, especially those referring to post-16th C elements.

Nevertheless, there are also aspects for which the archaeological evidence contradicts previously existing narratives; most notably, with regards to the nature of the Kaabu to Fulaadu transition. Presented by epic traditions as a period of turmoil, dramatic changes, and population replacement; this period's archaeology is characterised by a great degree of continuity and very limited evidence of violence. It should be noted, however, that the simple replacement narrative is exclusive to griotic epics; local elder stories (when considered together), present a much more complex picture, featuring Manding rulers that fought for Alpha and Musa Molo, Fulbe leaders that opposed them, and constant multidimensional power negotiations between the many actors involved. Together with the archaeological evidence, these elder traditions demonstrate that neither ethnicity nor religion constituted the main – let alone the only– dividing axes of this conflict; and that this period's main changes were in the balance of political powers, rather than in the social fabric of the population.

Finally, the information retrieved permits us to assess for the first time the material links of the Upper Casamance with the wider Senegambia and the rest of the former Mali Empire. Its ceramic sequence, although consistent with the general parameters of West African ceramics over the last two millennia, does not fully match any other known sequences, but presents similarities with materials from eastern Senegal (e.g. Gokee 2012) and Guinea Bissau (Cardoso 1992). The imports, metalwork, and smoking pipes encountered are also more consistent with those found in Gambian sites (Lawson 2003), the Siin Salum (Richard 2007) and Falemé areas (Gokee 2012), than to those from central Mali. As for settlement patterns,

although no other archaeological instances of shifting sedentism have been documented; overall the archaeological landscapes of the Upper Casamance present greater affinities with those of other areas in the southern Senegambia, (e.g. Gokee 2012; Lawson 2003; Richard 2007), with their generally flat sites, shallow deposits, and ephemeral occupations: than to the highly stratified tell clusters of the Middle Niger and Ségou regions of Mali. Consequently, while most historical narratives tend to emphasise the Upper Casamance's connections with the core of the Mali Empire; its material record tells a different story, one in which the closest technical and cultural links are not with Mali's interior, but with the surrounding regions.

Shifting sedentism: mobility, statehood, and territory

The research questions posed in the introduction addressed the relationship between political power, mobility, and statehood in general, and the phenomenon of shifting sedentism in particular. More specifically, I set out to answer three sets of questions:

1) What are the defining characteristics of shifting sedentism, when did it first emerge, and how has it evolved over time?

Shifting sedentism is, as indicated in the introduction, a settlement pattern by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters while keeping the name, institutions, and networks of the community intact. In its most recent form (19th C-present), it is the result of two types of movements: shifts (of whole settlements or of groups within them) and relocations (family groups arriving or departing for other villages). The overall shifting therefore results, not from an intentional overall arrangement, but from the organic sum of a diversity of moves by different population segments. This combination of movements produces two parallel phenomena: a permanent landscape of stable yet shifting historical towns, and an ephemeral one characterised by the continuous creation and abandonment of minor villages. The reasons behind all these moves are as diverse as the moves themselves, ranging from environmental to social concerns; but they all have in common the use of mobility (whether short- or long-distance) as a problem-solving mechanism, while maintaining a fully sedentary lifestyle and a strong sense of the importance of historical towns as permanent anchors in the landscape.

Archaeologically, the results from both survey and excavation indicate shifting patterns are not a recent occurrence. Both Payoungou and Korop have been inhabited for over 1300 years, yet – with the exception of the iron smelting area in PYG-A– all occupational horizons were in use for less than 200 years. As for the nature of the shifts, it is clear they were not linear (which is consistent with shifting patterns as currently known), and that re-occupations of previously abandoned areas were rare. The fact that no tell-sites exist in the region, even in documented historical settlements, would indicate this pattern extended throughout the Upper Casamance.

In short, as a result of this project, we can now assert that shifting patterns have been a defining trait of the Upper Casamance since at least the time of Kaabu – perhaps earlier. We also have a solid, multi-disciplinary understanding of how this pattern has operated for the last 200 years. The present evidence, however, does not allow to confidently state whether some periods were more mobile than others, or whether the nature of the shifts changed over time.

2) How does shifting sedentism relate to the political structures in the region and their changing power balances over the last millennium?

Although it is a mistake to assume a direct correlation between a given set of settlement patterns and certain form of political organisation, it would be equally misguided to ignore the interconnections that exist between political and settlement landscapes (see Ch.2). For the last millennium, the settlement landscapes of the Upper Casamance have been characterised by a high degree of settlement mobility, both long- and short-distance; and an equally fluctuating –but also highly resilient– political landscape. While this political landscape might at first sight conform to traditional Eurocentric notions of territoriality (with its configuration around territories, fortresses, and rulers); in practice its articulation greatly differed from such notions.

First of all, territories were not fixed lines on a map, but fluctuating and loosely defined political spaces, comprising the area/people over which the ruler could extract taxes from, at any given point in time. Settlement mobility therefore was not an issue, as territories could easily adapt to such moves. Territories could be independent, part of federations, or subject to other territories; and their centre was marked by a fortress or *tata,* where the ruler lived. Although sturdy in appearance, *tataji* were equally fluid and transitory manifestations, erected and

destroyed depending on the existing balance of power between local, regional, and supra-regional forces.

Despite the material impermanence of its particular manifestations, the political system itself was very resilient, as proven by the fact that concepts and terms originally conceived for Kaabu are still being used to describe today's political realities. Part of this resilience stemmed from the system's capacity to adapt to new developments and situations, best exemplified by the substantial changes in the degree of centralisation over time. On the other hand, changes in political structures also had an impact on settlement landscapes. For instance, periods of central weakness, such as the Kaabu-Fulaadu transition, were characterised by turmoil and struggles between regional powers, which also led an increase in long-distance mobility and greater settlement instability.

3) What can we learn about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, as well as about their archaeological traces?

The articulation of the settlement and political landscapes described is not just fundamental for understanding the Upper Casamance history; but also carries wider implications for archaeology as a whole. As was discussed in Ch.2, in the last few decades archaeologists in sub-Saharan Africa have brought to light an incredibly diverse array of indigenous sociopolitical forms, contributing to a wider debate about the 'complexity of complexity'. The two states that have defined the political landscapes of the Upper Casamance for the last 800 years, Kaabu and Fulaadu, fit the traditional definition of 'state' at many levels: they were based around territories and strongholds with a defined regional hierarchy, had a centralised system of tax collection, and a ruling aristocracy which controlled access to prestige goods in general, and imports in particular. Yet at the same time, these states also significantly challenge traditional conceptualisations of statehood, most notably through their notion of fluid territoriality and their configuration around constantly moving human landscapes.

As discussed in Ch.2, archaeological studies of mobility have tended in the past to rely on binary sedentary/nomad divisions, or frameworks which present movement as a transitional response to moments of crisis. In the case of the Upper Casamance, however, movement is not a temporary phase between still moments, but an intrinsic and constant dimension of the articulation of social dynamics. Furthermore, this constant movement takes place in populations with fully sedentary

lifestyles, which also defies many traditional assumptions about mobility. The case of the Upper Casamance is not unique, as examples of shifting settlements have been documented elsewhere (see Ch. 2); but these cases remain generally under-theorised, rarely make it into discussions about mobility, and when they do, it tends to be with great doses of environmental determinism. Consequently, I believe that a well-documented, long-lived case of shifting towns within state/imperial structures like the one presented here, can effect a substantial contribution to these discussions.

Connected to the issue of mobility and territorial fluidity within state structures is the question of sources of power. One of the reasons why states are often presented as static polygons, rather than as the dynamic networks they are, is because their sources of power are often also conceived as fixed. Kaabu and Fulaadu provide a useful counterbalance to these rigid notions, as both states relied on a variety of sources of power, both material and symbolic, fixed and mobile. At some levels, they conform to Guyer's (1995) notion of 'wealth-in-people' and Goody's (1971) emphasis on the means of destruction, in that control over people (achieved partially via a strong military) was certainly more important than control over land for its productive potential. Nevertheless, the importance of specific spots of land should not be underestimated, as control over – and taxation of – trade routes was essential, as was access to the ritual power of given points in the landscape.

Additionally, the discussion about shifting sedentism here presented has important methodological implications, as shifting towns might be easily mis-identified as ephemeral settlements, if no historical evidence for the length of the occupation exists, or if no dated ceramic sequences (indicating a possible multi-period occupation) are available. It is therefore likely, given the traditional focus of West Africanist archaeologists on tell sites, that many of these sites might have been overlooked, misidentified as transient settlements, and deemed not worth excavating.

Finally, this project's second methodological contribution has been with regards to multidisciplinarity. I hope to have shown how it is possible, through the notion of landscape to set up a productive dialogue between markedly different sources, like archaeology, elder oral traditions, griotic epics, and historical texts, while keeping in mind the limitations and biases of each individual source.

12.2 Future directions

While much has been advanced in our understanding of the Upper Casamance's archaeology and its wider implications as a result of this project, the results here presented are necessarily preliminary and present notable limitations and important blind spots. As there is a limitless range of directions future research could follow, in this final section I outline those which I consider to be most interesting and productive.

In terms of methodology, the greatest constraint of this project has been without any doubt the lack of a systematic method of assessing the elder-based survey, and in particular whether there was a bias favouring recently abandoned or still inhabited sites, as I suspect might have been the case. Given the dense vegetation cover and the lack of surface pottery in non-cultivated areas, a traditional transect survey would be, not just very time-consuming, but almost certainly also ineffective. A possible way around this problem could be the analysis of multi-spectral satellite imagery: the data from the current survey could be used to assess if sites in the region present a spectral signature different to that of their surroundings, which could help identify potential sites, to be subsequently checked on the ground through shovel testing.

In terms of excavation, it would be useful to increase the number of excavated units at both Payoungou and Korop, especially in areas which were not covered in the first two seasons; as well as to conduct lines of shovel tests across the sites to assess their true extent beyond non-cultivated areas. Beyond these two sites, excavations at Kansala (Guinea Bissau), could provide insights into the establishment of *nyanthioya* and the nature of Kaabu's political structures. Likewise, research at the Guide Nyanthio Bé cave in Mampatim could provide useful information about the antiquity of *dyalan* cults and their connection with Early Kaabu and pre-Kaabu traditions. Finally, some future archaeological project should target the other type of *guide,* the subterranean galleries documented by Girard (1992), to obtain enough data to accurately date and analyse the function of these structures.

Beyond archaeology, while this project made ample use of archival material at the Archives du Sénégal and the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.), lack of time and resources prevented the consultation of the materials in the Gambia Archives and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon, which undoubtedly contain information directly relevant to the region, both in terms of historical

European sources and early recordings of oral traditions and epic narratives.

Finally, having documented the phenomenon of shifting sedentism for the Upper Casamance, it would be interesting to research it more widely, in order to assess its presence over time and space, its frequency, and the similarities between its different manifestations; as I suspect it might be have been a far more widespread occurrence than the present literature on mobility would suggest.

As the previous paragraphs have made clear, there is no shortage of directions in which this work could be taken forward. In fact, for most paths of research followed, I have ended up with more questions than I started. These new questions, however, exist in a different space to the original ones: one in which the material and conceptual bases have already been laid; in which there is a defined ceramic chronology for the region, and a good knowledge of the range and nature of the sites present. I have no doubt that some of the analyses and ideas presented here will be proven wrong as new data become available in the future. Yet, I hope that this thesis, with all its limitations and deficiencies, can be the base upon which future research builds to illuminate the archaeology and history of this unjustly neglected and fascinating region.

REFERENCES

-Abbeville, S. 1679. *L'Afrique ou Lybie ulterieure ou sont le Saara ou desért, le pays des Negres, la Guinée et les pays circonv.* Paris.

-Alvares de Almada, A. 1984. *Brief treatise on the Rivers of Guinea.* Translated from Portuguese by P-E-H. Hair. Liverpool : University of Liverpool.

-Alvares de Almada, A. 1964. *Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde.* Lisboa: LIAM.

-ANSD 2009. *Situation economique et sociale de la Region de Kolda. Service Regional de la Prevision et de la statistique.* Dakar: Ministere de l'Économie et des Finances.

-Anville. 1743. *La Guinée de même que la plus grande Partie du Pais des Nègres.*

-APS. 2012. 'Ces villages du Fouladou fatals aux fonctionnaires et politiciens'. Retrieved on 7 June 2015 from Word Wide Web: http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/ces-villages-du-fouladou-fatals-aux-fonctionnaires-et-politiciens_n_59332.html

-Arazi, N. 2005.'Tracing history in Dia, in the Inland Niger Delta of Mali: Archeology, oral traditions, and written sources'. Unpublished PhD thesis, UCL.

-Aubert, A. 1923. 'Légendes historiques et traditions orales recuieillies dans la Haute Gambie' . *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française,* 6, 384-428.

-Ba, O. 1981. 'Royaume du Kabou: enquetes lexicales'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Bah, T.A. 1981. 'Gimdhi Taarika fii Fuuta-Dyalon Ngaabu (Poeme Peulh)'.*Ethiopiques* 29.

-Bahn, P. 1992. *Collins Dictionary of Archaeology.* Glasgow: Harper Collins.

-Ballin, T.B. 2012. '"State of the art" of British gunflint research, with special focus on the early gunflint workshop at Dun Eistean, Lewis'. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 46(1), 116-42.

-Banks, M. 1996. *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions.* London: Routledge.

-Barnard, H. & Wendrich, W. 2008. *The archaeology of mobility.* Los Angeles: University of California.

-Barot, R., Bradley H. & Fenton, S. 1999. 'Rethinking Ethnicity & Gender' in R. Barot, H. Bradley & S. Fenton (eds). *Ethnicity, Gender & Social Change.*

London: McMillan.

-Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of cultural difference*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

-Bassani, E. 1979. 'Sono from Guinea Bissau'. *African Arts* 12 (4) 44-7.

-Bassène, A. 2011. *Histoire authentique de la Casamance*. Angeville: La Brochure.

-Beck, H. 1928. 'Classification and nomenclature of beads and pendants' *Archaeologia* 76, 1-76.

-Becker, C.. Martin. V., Schmitz, J., Chastanet, M. 1983. *Les premiers recensements au Sénégal et l'evolution demographique. Partie I: Présentation de documents'*. Dakar: ORSTOM.

-Bedaux, R. 1986. 'Pottery variation in present day Dogon compounds (Mali): Preliminary results'. In R. Singer & J.K.Lundy (eds) *Variation, culture, and evolution in African populations*. Johannesburg: Witwaterstrand University Press, 241-8.

-Bédaux, R, J. Polet, K. Sanogo and A. Schmidt (eeds). 2005. *Recherches archéologiques à Dia dans le Delta intérieur du Niger (Mali) : bilan des saisons de fouilles 1998-2003*. Leiden : CNWS.

-Belcher, S. 1999. *Epic traditions of Africa*.Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.

-Benoit, M. 1988. 'Espaces francs et espaces étatisés en Afrique Occidentale: remarques sur quelques processus de territorialisation et leurs fondements idéologiques en Haute Casamance et Haute Gambie. *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines* 4, 503-19.

-Bernardi, B. 1952. 'The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic peoples: a critical evaluation' *Africa,* 22(4), 316-32.

-Bernhardt, J.W. 1993. *Itinerant kingship and roya Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, 936-1075*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

-Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1849a. 'Sur la Guinée Portugaise ou Sénégambie Méridionale'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 11, 265-350.

-Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1849b. 'Notes sur la Guinée portugaise ou Sénégambie méridionale *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 12, 57-93.

-Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1851. 'Extrait d'une lettre de M. Bertrand-Bocandé, résident français à Carabanne (Cazamance). *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie,* 414-8.

-Binford, L. R. 1990. Mobility, housing, and environment: a comparative study'.

Journal of Anthropological Research 46(1), 9-52 .

-Binger, L.G. 1892. *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*. Paris

-Bird, C.S. and Kendall, M.B. 1980: 'The Mande hero: text and context'. In Karp, I. and Bird, C.S. (eds) *Explorations in African systems of thought.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 13-26.

-Bocoum, H. and McIntosh, S.K. 2002. *Fouilles à Sincu Bara, un site de l'Age de Fer dans la Moyenne Vallée du Sénégal.* Dakar, IFAN/Ch. A. Diop/ Nouakchott: CRIAA.

-Bocoum, H. 1995. 'La métallurgie du fer au Sénégal des origines au XXe siècle: esquisses d'une evolution des techniques de réduction. In P. Benoit & P. Fluzin (eds). *Paleometallurgie du fer & cultures.* Paris: Vulcain.

Bocoum, H. 2000. *L'Âge de Fer au Sénégal: Histoire et Archéologie.* Nouakchott: CRIAA.

-Boulegue, 1972. 'Aux confins du monde Malinké: le Royaume de Kasa (Casamance)' *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies.* London: SOAS.

-Boulegué, J. 1981. 'Les pays Wolof et Sereer et le monde Mandé au Moyen Age'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Boutillier, J-L. 2011. *Extrait du Rapport de Monsieur Jean-Louis Boutillier.* Dakar: Université Cheick Anta Diop.

-Brasseur, P. 1975. 'Missions catholiques et administration sur la côte d'Afrique de 1815 à 1870'. *Revue française d'histoire d'outre mer* 62(228), 415-46.

-Braudel. F. 1981. *The structures of everyday life: the limits of the possible.* London: Harper & Row.

-Brigaud, F. 1962. 'Histoire traditionelle du Sénégal'. *Études Senegalaises* 9.

-Brill, R.H. 1995. 'Chemical analysis of some glasses from Jené-jeno. In S.K. McIntosh (ed). *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 Season.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

-Brown, P. 1951. 'Patterns of authority in West Africa'. *Journal of the International African Institute* 21(4), 261-78.

-Brue, A. 1723. 'Voïages du Sr André Brue au long des Côtes occidentales d'Afrique'. In J-P. Rousselot de Surgy (ed). *Histoire générale des Voyages,* 460-630

-Ca da Mosto, A. 1895 *Relation des Voyages à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique*. Translated from Portuguese by M.C. Schefer. Paris : Léroux.

-Camara, S. 2010. *The epic of Kelefaa Saane*. Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.

-Camara, A. and Duboscq, 1990. 'La Fouille D'un Site Acheuléen À Djita (Basse Vallée De La Falémé, Sénégal)' *L'Anthropologie* 94(2), 293-304.

-Camara, A. and Duboscq, B. 1987. 'Contexte Chronostratigraphique des outillages du Paléolithique évolué dans l'est du Sénégal'. *L'Anthropologie* 91(2):511-520.

-Camara, A. and Duboscq, B. 1984. 'Le Gisement Préhistorique de Sansandé, Basse Vallée de la Falémé, Sénégal: Approche typologique et ttratigraphique. *L'Anthropologie* 88(3):377-402.

-Cameron-Monroe, J. & Ogundiran, A. 2012. *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Campbell,R. 2009. 'Approach to Early Complex Polities' *Current Anthropology*. 50(6), 821-48.

-Campos, L.M. 2014. *Korop and Payoungou: Iron technology in the High Casamance Region in Senegal*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, UCL.

-Cardoso, L. 1992. 'A arqueologia na Guiné-Bissau- Passado e perspectivas'. *Leba* 7, 47-56.

-Caroço, J.V. 1948. *Monjur: O Gabu e a sua historia*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de Guiné Portuguesa.

-Carreira, A. 1938. *Vida, religiao e morte dos Mandingas*. Lisboa: Cosmos.

-Carreira, A. 1947. *Mandingas da Guiné Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.

-Carreira, A. 1961. 'Organizaçao social e economica dos povos de Guiné'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 64, 641-736.

-Carreira, A.1964. 'A etnonímia dos povos de entre o Gâmbia e o estuário do Geba'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 19 (75), 254-75.

-Carreira, A. 1966. 'Aspectos historicos da evoluçao do Islamismo na Guiné Portuguesa' *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 21(84).

-Carreira, A. 1983. *Notas sobre ó trafico português de escravos*. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

-Carreira 1984, A. *Os Portugueses nos rios de Guiné (1500-1900)*.Lisboa

-CEHLTO, 2008. *La chartre de Kurukan Fuga: au sources d'une pensée politique en*

Afrique. Paris: Harmattan.

-Chapman 2007 'Evolution, Complexity, and the State'. In S. Kohring & S. Wynne-Jones, S. (eds). *Socialising Complexity: Structure, interaction and power in archaeological discourse*

-Charry, E.S. 2000. *Mande Music: Traditional and modern music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

-Chavane, B.A. 1985. *Villages de l'ancien Tekrour.* Paris: Karthala.

-Childe, V.G. 1950. 'The Urban Revolution'. *The town planning review* 21(1), 3-17.

-Cissé, Y. 1964. 'Notes sur les sociétes de chasseurs Malinké'. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 34, 175-266.

-Cissé, Y. and Kamissoko, W. 1998. *La grande geste du Mali: des origines à la fondation de l'empire*. Paris: Karthala.

-Cissoko, S.M. 1968. 'Prophéties de roi Mandingue: Mansa dâli! *Notes Africaines,* 123-4.

-Cissoko, S.M. 1969. 'La Royauté chez les Mandingues Occidentaux'. *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 31, series B, 2, 325-338.

-Cissoko, S.M. 1972. 'Introduction à l'histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest; l'empire de Kabou (XVIè-XIXè siècle)'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.

-Cissoko, S.M. 1981. 'De l'organisation politique du Kabu'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Colson, E. 1969. 'African society at the time of the scramble'. In Gann, L.H. and Duignan, P. (eds) *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Volume I, The history and politics of colonialism 1870-1914*. pp 27-65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Conrad, D. 1985. 'Islam in the oral traditions of Mali : Bilali and Surakata'. *The Journal of African History* 26(1), 33-49.

-Conrad., D.C. 1994: 'A town called Dakajalan: the Sunjata tradition and the question of ancient Mali's capital'. *Journal of African History* 35, 355-77.

-Conrad, D. and Frank, B. 1995. *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

-Corbeil, R., R. Mauny, and J. Charbonnier. 1948. 'Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'ile du Cap-Vert et de l'extrême ouest Sénégalais. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* 10, 378-460.

-Cowhill, G.L. 1977. 'Albert Spaulding and archaeological method and theory'. *American Antiquity* 42(3), 325-9.

-Cowgill, G.L. 2004. 'Origins and development of urbanism: archaeoogical perspectives'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 525-

-Craig, N.M. & Chagnon, N. 2006. 'Locational analysis of Yanomamö gardens and villages observed in satellite imagery'. In F. Sellet, R. Greaves, & P-L Yu (eds) *Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology of Mobility.* Gainesville/Tallahassee/ Tampa/BocaTaron/Pensacola/Orlando/Miami/Jacksonville/Ft Myers: University Press of Florida, 44-74.

-Cribb, R.L.D. 1991. 'Mobile villagers: the structure and organisation of nomadic pastoral campsites in the Near East'. In C.S. Gamble & W.A. Boismier (ed) *Ethnoarchaeological approaches to mobile campsites: hunter-gathereer and pastoralist case studies* 1, 371-93.

-Crone,. G.R. 1937. *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on Western African in the second half of the 15th C.* London: Hakluyt Society.

-Cros J.-P., Laporte L., Bocoum H., Delvoye A., Diallo M., Lejay M., Bernard R., Dartois V., Quesnel L. 2010. Wanar: pratiques funéraires dans le mégalithisme sénégambien. *Volet II* – Etude anthropologique et comparaisons. Actes du colloque international PANAF-SAFA de Dakar.

-Crumley, C.L. 1987. 'A dialectical critique of hierarchy. In T. Patterson & C.W. Gailley (eds). *Power relations and state formation*. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association, 155-69.

-Crumley, C.L. 1995. 'Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies'. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 6, 1-5-

-Cultru, P. 1910. *Histoire du Sénégal du Xve siècle à 1870*. Paris: E. Larose.

-Cuoq, J. M. (1975). *Recueil des Sources Arabes Concernant l'Afrique Occidentale du 8è au 16e siècle*. Paris: CNRS.

-Dapper, O. 1686 *Description de l'Afrique*. Amsterdam : Wolfgang, Waesberge, Boom & van Someren.

-David, N. and Sterner, J. 1999. 'Wonderful society ; the Burgess shale creatures, Mandara polities, and the nature of prehistory'. In S.K. McIntosh (ed). *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

-De Barros, A. 1947. 'Histórias interessantes sobre os primitivos régulos de Cossé, Bulolé, Camomba e Badora'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa 2(7), 741-3.*

-De Zurara, G.E. 1841. *Chronica do descubrimiento e conquista de Guiné*. Paris :

J.P. Aillaud.

-DeCorse, C. R., Richard, F.G. Thiaw, I. 2003. 'Toward a systematic bead description system: A view from the Lower Falemme, Senegal' *Journal of African Archaeology* 1(1): 77-110.

-DeCorse, C.R.1989. 'Beads as chronological indicators in West African archaeology: A reexamination' *Beads* 1: 41-53.

-Delvoye, A. 2012. *La céramique de l'aire mégalithique sénégambienne à travers le cas de la nécropole de Wanar (Sénégal). Etude des répertoires formels, décoratifs et approche technologique. Campagnes 2005-2011.* Unpublished MA thesis, Université Paris I.

-Demanet, A. 1767. *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique Française.* Paris.

-Descamps, C. 1979. Sites protohistoriques de la Sénegambie. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Dakar* 9: 303-313.

-Descamps, C. and Thilmans, C. 1973. *À l'attention de M. le Directeur du Patrimoine National (suite à l'autorisation nº 1142 MC du 13 juin 1973)* [letter]. Dakar: Musée Historique de Gorée.

-Descamps, C. and Thilmans, G. 1979.Les tumulus coquilliers des îles du Saloum (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA* 54-55: 81-91.

-Descamps, C., Thilmans, G J., Thommeret, Y and Hauptmann, E. 1977. Données sur l'âge et la vitesse d'édification de l'amas coquillier de Faboura (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA* 51: 23-32.

-De Barros, J. 1778. *Da Asia.* Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica

-De Lemos Coelho, F. 1953. *Duas descrições seiscentistas da Guiné.Lisboa:* Academia Portuguesa da Historia.

-De Jong, F. 2007. *Masquerades of Modernity: Power and secrecy in Casamance, Senegal.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

-De Torres, J. 2012. *La Tierra sin límites: territorio, sociedad e identidades en el valle medio del Tajo (S. IX-I a.C.).* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

-De Zeltner, F. 1913. *Contes du Sénégal et du Niger.* Paris: Léroux.

-Deme, A. & McIntosh, S.K. 2006. 'Excavations at Walaldé: new light on the settlement of the Middle Senegal Valley by iron-using people'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 4(2), 317-47.

-Diallo, T. 1981. 'Le Gaabu et le Fuuta-Jalon'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Diallo, A.O. 2009. *Épopée du Fouta-Djalon: la chute de Gabou*. Paris: Harmattan.

-Dieterlen, G. 1957: 'The Mande creation myth'. *Africa* 27, 124-38.

-Dietler, M. 2001. 'Theorizing the feast: rituals of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African contexts'. In M.Dietler and B. Hayden (eds) *Archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power.* Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

-Diop, A. 2000. 'Les industries paléolithiques post-Acheuléennes'. In Vernet, R. (ed) *L'archéologie en Afrique de l'Ouest. Sahara et Sahel,* Paris: Sépia, 257-68.

-Donelha, A. 1977. *Descriçao de Serra Leoa e dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625).* Translated from Portuguese by A. Teixero da Mota. Lisbon, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar.

-Dunnell, R.C. 1971 'Sabloff and Smith's "The importance of both analytic and taxonomic classification systems in the type-variety system"' *American Antiquity* 36(1), 115-8.

-Dunnel, R.C. 1986. 'Methodological issues in Americanist artifact classification'. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 9, 149-207.

-Durán, L. 2007. *Women and musical mastery in Mali. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 70(3), 569-602.

-Earthquake Track. 2015. '6.4 magnitude earthquake 73km from Koundara, Guinea'. Retrieved on 29th July 2015 from World Wide Web: http://earthquaketrack.com/quakes/1983-12-22-04-11-29-utc-6-4-11.3

-Easton, D. 1959. 'Political Anthropology'. *Biennal Review of Anthropology.* 1, 201-262.

-Eisenstadt, S.N. 1959. 'Primitive political systems: A preliminary comparative analysis'. *American Anthropologist* 61(2), 200-20.

-Eriksen, T.H. 2002. *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives.* London: Pluto Press

-Es-Sadi, A. 1964 *Tarikh es-Soudan (*trans. O. Houdas)Paris: Maissonneuve.

-Fanchette, S. 1999. 'Migrations, intégration spatiale et formation d'une société peule dans le Fouladou (haute Casamance, Sénégal). In R. Botte, J.Boutrais, and J. Schmitz (eds). *Figures Peules.* Paris: Karthala.

-Fanchette, S. 2010. *Une région periphérique à l'épreuve de la décentralisation: le Fuladu, pays des Peul de Haute-Casamance (Sénégal). Retrieved on 20 April 2014 from World Wide Web: http://www.enda-sigie.org/bases/sigie/ressources/edocs-fan-decent-fuladu-hte-casam.pdf*

-Fanchette, S. 2011. *Au pays des Peuls de Haute-Casamance: l'intégration territoriale en question*. Paris: Karthala.

-Faro, J.1957. 'Duas expediçoes enviadas à Guiné anteriormente à 1474 e custeadas pela fazenda de D. Afonso V'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 12(45), 47-104.

-Faro, J. 1959. ' A organizaçao administrativa da Guiné de 1615 a 1676'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 14(53), 97-122.

-Fay, C. 1997. 'Les derniers seront les premiers : peuplement et pouvoirs mandingues et Peuls au Maasina (Mali). In M. De Bruijn and H. Van Dijk (eds). *Peuls et Mandingues : dialectique des constructions identitaires*. Paris : Karthala, 165-191.

-Feinman, G.M. & Marcus, J. 1998. *Archaic States*. Santa Fe (NM): School of American Research.

-Filipowiak, W. 1966.'Expedition archéologique polono-guinéenne a Niani (Guinée).*Africana Bulletin* 4, 116-27.

-Filipowiak, W.1970. 'L'expedition archéologique polono-guinéenne a Niani, en 1968. *Africana Bulletin* 11, 107-17.

-Filipowiak, W. 1979. *Études archéologiques sur la capitale médiévale du Mali.* Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe w Szczczecinie.

-Fleisher, J. & Wynne-Jones, S. 2010. 'Authorisation and the process of power: the view from African Archaeology' *Journal of World Prehistory* 23 (4), 177-93.

-Ford, J.A. 1952. 'Measurements of some prehistoric design developments in the southeastern states' *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 44(3).

-Ford, J.A. 1954. 'Letters to the Editor'. *American Anthropologist* 56, 109-12.

-Ford, J.A. and Griffin, J.B. 1960(1938). 'Report of the Conference on Southeastern Pottery Typology'. Reprinted in the *Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference* 7(1), 10-22.

-Fortes, M. & Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1940. *African Political Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

-Frachetti, M.D. 2012. 'Multiregional emergence of mobile pastoralism and nonuniform institutional complexity across Eurasia'. *Current Anthropology* 53(1), 2-38.

-Frank, B.E. 1998. *Mande potters and leatherworkers: art and heritage in West Africa*. Washington DC/ London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

-Fried, M. H. *The evolution of political society: An essay in political anthriology.* New York: Random House.

-Gaden, H. 1912. 'Légendes et coutumes sénegalaises (Cahiers de Yoro Dyao). *Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie, 1*191-202.

-Gallagher, D. 2010. 'Farming beyond the escarpment: society, environment, and mobility in precolonial southeastern Burkina Faso'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

-Gallay, A. 1970. 'La poterie en pays sarakolé (Mali, Afrique Occidentale): Étude de technologie traditionelle. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 40, 7-84.

-Gallay, A., Pignat, G, and Curdy, P. 1982. Mbolop Tobé (Santhiou Kohel, Sénégal): Contribution à la connaissance du mégalithisme sénégambien. *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale* 46(2): 217-259.

-Gallay, A. and Huysecom, E. 1989. *Ethnoarchéologie africaine: un programme d'étude de la céramique récente du Delta Intérieur du Niger.* Geneva: Université de Genève.

-Gallay, A., E. Huysecom, M. Honneger, and A, Mayor. 1990. *Hamdallahi, capitale de l'Empire peul du Massina, Mali ; première fouille archéologique, études historiques et ethnoarcheologiques.* Stuttgart: F. Steiner.

-Galloway, W. 1980. 'A listing of some Kaabu states and associated areas: signposts towards state-by-state research in Kaabu'. Paper presented at *The First International Kaabu Colloquium,* Dakar.

-Gestrich, N. 2010. 'The archaeology of social organisation at Tongo Maare Diabal'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College London.

-Geysbeek, T.W. 2002. *History from the Musadu epic: the formation of Manding power on the southern frontier of the Mali Empire.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Michigan State University.

-Giesing, C. & Vidrine, V. 2007. *Ta:rikh Mandinka de Bijini (Guinée-Bissau): la mémoire des Mandinka et Sooninkee du Kaabú.* Leiden/Boston: Brill.

-Gijanto, L. 2007. 'Contact and exchange during the era of the Atlantic Trade: preliminary findings from archaeological investigations in the Gambia' *Nyame Akuma* 68: 12- 20.

-Gijanto, L. 2010. *Change and the Era of the Atlantic Trade: Commerce and Interaction in the Niumi Commercial Center (The Gambia).* Unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University.

-Gijanto, L. 2011a. 'Exchange, interaction, and change in local ceramic production

in the Niumi commercial center on the Gambia River'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(1), 21-48.

-Gijanto, L. 2011b. 'Personal adornment and Expressions of status; beads and the Gambia river's Atlantic trade'. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4), 637- 68.

-Girard, J. 1992. *L'or du Bambouk : une dynamique de civilisation ouest-africaine.* Geneva: Georg.

-Gokee, C.D. 2012. *Daily life in the land of Bambuk: an archaeological study of political economy at Diouboye, Senegal.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

-Gomes, D. 1959 [transl. and ed. by T.R. Monod, R. Mauny, and G. Duval] *De la première découverte de la Guinée: récit par Diogo Gomes (fn XVe. siècle)* Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.

-Goody, J. 1971. *Technology, tradition, and the State in Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

-Gosselain, O.P. and Livingstone Smith, A. 1995. 'The Ceramics and Society Project: an ethnographic and experimental approach to technological choices'. *KVHAA Konferenser* 34, 147-60.

-Gosselain, O.P. 1992. 'Bonfire of the Enquiries. Pottery firing temperatures in archaeology: what for?'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19,243-59.

-Gosselain, O.P.1999. 'In pots we trust: the processing of clay and symbols in sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Material Culture* 4(2), 205-30.

-Gosselain, O.P. 2008a. 'Thoughts and adjustments in the potter's backyard'. In I. Berg (ed). *Breaking the mould: challenging the past through pottery.* BAR Int. Series 1861.

-Gosselain, O.P. 2008b. 'Ceramics in Africa'. In Selin, H. (eds) *Encyclopedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in non-western cultures.* Vol.1. Springer.

-Gosselain, O.P. 2010. 'Ethnographie comparée des trousses à outils de potiers au sud du Niger'. *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 107(4), 667-89.

-Gosselain, O.P. 2011a. 'Fine if I do, fine if I don't. Dynamics of technical knowledge in sub-Saharan Africa'. In B.W. Roberts and M. Vander Linden (eds) *Investigating archaeological cultures: material culture, variabilty, and transmission*. Springer.

-Gosselain, O.P. 2011b. 'Pourquoi le décorer? Quelques observations sur le décor

céramique en Africa'. *Azania* 46(1), 3-19.

-Grandão, F. 1947. 'Uma peça histórica'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 2(6), 449-54.

-Gravrand, R.P. 1981. 'Le Gabou dans les traditions orales du Ngabou'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Gronenborn, D. 2001. 'Kanem-Borno: a brief summary of the history and archaeology of an empire in the Central 'bilad el-sudan' In C. DeCorse (ed) *West African during the Atlantic Slave trade; archaeological perspectives*. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 101-30.

-Guitat, R. 1970. Carte Et Répertoire Des Site Néolithiques Du Sénégal. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 32(4):1125-1134.

-Gutkind, P. C. W. 1963. *The royal capital of Buganda: a study of internal confict and external ambiguity*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

-Guyer, J.I. 1992. 'Wealth in People and Self-Realization in Equatorial Africa'. *Man* 28(2), 243-65.

-Guyer, J.I. 1995. 'Wealth in people, wealth in things' *Journal of African History* 36(1), 83-90.

-Hall, M. 1996. *Archaeology Africa*. London: James Currey, Cap Town: David Phillip

-Hanks, B.K. & Linduff, K.M. 2009. *Social complexity in prehistoric Eurasia: Monuments, metals and mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Haour, A. 2005. 'Power and permanence in precolonial Africa: a case study from the central Sahel. *World Archaeology* 37, 552-65.

-Haour, A. 2011. 'Putting pots and people in the Sahelian empires' *Azania* 46(1), 36-48.

-Haour, A., Manning, N., Arazi, N., Gosselain, O., Guèye, N.S., Keita, D., Livingstone-Smith, A., MacDonald, K.C., Mayor, A., McIntosh,S.K., and Vernet, R. 2010. *African Pottery Roulettes Past and Present: techniques, identification, and distribution*. Oxford: Oxbow.

-Hayden, B. & Villeneuve, S. 2011. 'A century of feasting studies'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40, 433-49.

-Hecquard, H. 1853. *Voyage sur la côte et l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris : Bernard et Co.

-Higgs, E.S. and C. Vita-Finzi, 1972. 'Prehistoric economies : a territorial approach. In E.S. Higgs (ed). *Papers in economic prehistory*. Cambridge : Cambridge

University Press, 27-36.

-Hoffman, B.G. 1995. 'Power, structure, and Mande *jeliw'*. In D.C. Conrad and B.E. Frank (eds). *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 36-45.

-Holl, A.F.C., Bocoum, H., Dueppen, S. and Gallagher, D. 2007. 'Switching mortuary codes and ritual programs: the double-monolith-circle from Sine-Ngayene, Senegal'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 5(1), 127-48.

-Horvarth, R.J. 1969. 'The wandering capitals of Ethiopia' *Journal of African History* 10(2), 205-19.

-Huysecom, E. and Mayor, A. 1993. 'Les traditions céramiques du delta intérieur du Niger: présent et passé'. In J. Devisse, J., Polet, & S. Sidibé (eds). *Vallées du Niger.* Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux**,** 297-313.

-Innes, G. 1972. 'The Kingdom of Kaabu in Gambian Mandinka Oral Tradition'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.

-Innes, G. 1974. *Sunjata: three Mandinka versions*. London: SOAS.

-Insoll, T., Polya, D.A., Bhan. K., Irving, D. & Jarvis, K. 2004. 'Towards an understanding of the carnelian bead trade from Western India to sub-Saharan Africa: the application of UV-LA-ICP-MS to carnelian from Gujarat, India, and West Africa'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31, 1161-1173.

-Insoll, T. & Shaw, T. 1997. 'Gao and Igbo-Ukwu: Beads, inter-regional trade, and beyond'. *African Archaeological Review* 14: 9-23.

-Insoll, T. 1997. 'Iron Age Gao : An archaeological contribution'. *The Journal of African History* 38(1) , 1-30.

-Insoll,T. 1998. 'Archaeological research in Timbuktu, Mali'. *Antiquity* 72, 413-17.

-Insoll, T. 2006. 'Shine franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles; some observations based upon the Tallensi, Northern Ghana'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16(2), 223-38.

-Jabaté, J.K.M. 1987. *L'histoire du Mandé d'après Jéli Kanku Jabaté de Kéla*. Paris: SCOA.

-Jackson, J.B. 1984. *Discovering the vernacular landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

-Jansen, J. , Duintjer, E. and Tamboura, B. 1995. *L'épopée de Sunjara, d'après Lansine Diabaté de Kéla*. Leiden: CNWS.

-Jansen, J. 1996. 'The younger brother and the stranger in Mande status discourse. In Jansen, J. and C. Zobel (eds). *The younger brother in Mande : kinship and*

politics in West Africa. Leiden : CNWS, 8-34.

-Jansen, J. 2009. 'The Bijini experience- A journey to the end of the editors' universe as we know it'. In S. Luning, E. de Maaker & J. Jansen (eds) *Traditions on the move: essays in honor of Jarich Oosten.* Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 137-46.

-Jensen, C.K. and Nielsen, K.H. 1997. 'Burial data and Correspondence Analysis'. In C.K. Jensen & K.H.Nielsen (eds). *Burial & Society: the chronological and social analysis of archaeological burial data.* Aarhus,Aarhus University Press.

-Jobson, R. 1968 [1623]. *The golden trade or a discovery of the River Gambia and the Golden trade of the Aethiopians.* London : Dawsons of Pall Mall.

-Johansen, P.G. & Bauer, A.M. 2011. *The archaeology of politics: the materiality of political practice and action in the past.* Newcastle-upon-Thyne: Cambridge Scholars.

-Johnson, J.W. 1986. *The epic of Sunjata*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

-Johnson, J.W & Sisòko, F-D. 2003 *Son-Jara: The Mande Epic.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

-Johnson, M. 1970. 'The cowrie currencies of West Africa' Part I. *Journal of African History* 11(1), 17-49.

-Joire, J., and G. Duchemin 1955. Découvertes Archéologiques Dans La Région De Rao (Bas-Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 17(3):249-333.

-Jonckers, D. & Colleyn, J.P. 1974. 'La communauté familiale chez les Minyanka du Mali'. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 44(1), 43-52.

-Jones, E.E. and J.W. Wood. 2012. 'Using event-history analysis to examine the causes of semi- sedentism among shifting cultivators: a case study of the Haudenosaunee, AD 1500-1700'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, 2593- 2603.

-Jones, M. 1994. *Flowering plants of the Gambia.* Rotterdam: Balkema.

-Jones, S. 2002. *The archaeology of ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and present.* London/New York: Routledge.

-Kaba, L. 1981.'Des aspects de l'histoire du Gabu au XIXème siècle'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Kanouté, D. 1972. *Histoire de l'Afrique authentique.* Dakar: Impricap.

-Karklins, K. 1985. *Glass beads.* Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch Parks.

-Kâti, M. 1913 *Tarikh el-Fettach (*Trans. O Houdas and M. Delafosse). Paris: Ernest Leroux.

-Keita, D. 2011. 'Le peuplement de la marge orientale du delta intérieur du Niger au premier millénaire après Jésus Christ'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense.

-Kelly, R. L. 1992. 'Mobility/sedentism : concepts, archaeological measures, and effects' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 43-66.

-Kenmotsu, N. 1990. 'Gunflints: a study'. *Historical archaeology.* 24(2), 92-124.

-Kesteloot, L., Hale, T. & Bjornson, R. 1991. 'Power and its portrayals in royal Mandé narratives'. *Research in African Literatures* 22(1), 17-26.

-Kidd, K.E. & Kidd, M.E. 1983. 'A classification system for glass beads for the use of field archaeologists. In C.F. Hayes III (ed). *Proceedings of the 1982 glass trade bead conference research records* 16. Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 219-257.

-Kidder, A.V. and Shepard, A.O. 1936. *The Pottery of Pecos,* Vol II. New Haven: Yale University Press.

-Klein, M. 2009. 'Slavery and the early state in Africa'.*Social Evolution and History* 8(1), 168-94.

-Knight, R.C. 1972 'Relations between teh manding and the Fula as expressed in the Manding song repertoire'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies.* London: SOAS.

-Kohler, T.A. And M.H. Matthews 1988. 'Long-term Anasazi Land Use and Forest Reduction: a case study from Southwest Colorado'. *American Antiquity* 53(3), 537-564.

-Kopytoff, I. 1987. *The African frontier.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

-Kouyaté, N. 1981. 'Conservation des traditions orales Sereer e Guelwar'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Labat, J.B. 1728a. *Nouvelle Rélation de l'Afrique Occidentale IV* Paris : Guillaume Cavalier.

-Labat, J.B. 1728b. *Nouvelle Rélation de l'Afrique Occidentale V.* Paris : Guillaume Cavalier.

-Laforgue, P. 1925. 'État actuel de nos connaissances sur la préhistoire en Afrique Occidentale Française'. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 8(1), 105-171.

-Lambert, M. 1862. 'Voyage dans le Fouta Djalon. *Le Tour du Monde,* 373-400.

-Lame, M. 2000. 'Le Néolithique'. In R. Vernet (ed). *L'archéologie en Afrique de l'ouest: Sahara et Sahel.* Paris: Sépia, 269-275.

-Langle, F. de. 1872. 'Croisières à la côte d'Afrique' *Le Tour du Monde,* 305-52.

-Langle, F. de 1873. 'Croisières à la côte d'Afrique' *Le Tour du Monde,* 353-368.

-Langlois, O. 2001. 'La distribution des techniques de façonnage de la poterie au sud du basin tchadien: un outil pour la recherche historique régionale. *Journal des Africanistes* 71, 225-56.

-Laporte, L., Bocoum, H. Cros, J-P., Delvoye, A., Bernard, R., Diallo, M., Diop, M., Kane, A., Dartois, V., Lejay, M., Bertin, F. and Quesnel, L. 2012. 'Megalithic monumentality in Africa: from graves to stone circles at Wanar, Senegal'. *Antiquity* 86, 409-27.

-LaViolette, A. 1995. 'Women craft specialists in Jenne: the manipulation of Mande social categories'. In D.C. Conrad & B.E.Frank(eds) *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande.* Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

-Law, R. 1976. 'Horses, firearms, and political power in pre-colonial West Africa' *Past & Present* 72, 112-32.

-Lawson, A. 2001. *'Recent* archaeological research on Gambian Iron Age habitation'. *Nyame Akuma* 55, 32-35.

-Lawson 2003a. *Megaliths and Mande states: Sociopolitical change in The Gambia Valley over the past two Millennia.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

-Lawson, A. 2003b. The Central Gambia Valley archaeological project: Further results'. *Nyame Akuma* 59, 34-44.

-Leary, F.A. 1972. 'Gabu in the 19th century: a study of Futa Jalon-Firdu-French relations'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies.* London: SOAS.

-Legrand, R. 1912. 'Le Fouladou'. *La Géographie* 26 (1-6), 241-53.

-Lertrit, S. 2003. 'On Chronology-Building for Central Thailand through an attribute-based ceramic seriation'. *Asian Perspectives* 42(1), 41-71.

-Levtzion, N., and Hopkins, J. F. P., (eds) 2000. [1981]. *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History,* Princeton (NJ): Markus Wiener.

-Levtzion, N. 1980. *Ancient Ghana and Mali.* New York: Holmes & Meier.

-Linares de Sapir, O. 1971. 'Shell middens of Lower Casamance and problems of

Diola Prothistory. *West African Journal of Archaeology* 1, 23-54.

-Lindsay, I. & Greene, A. 2013. 'Sovereignty, mobility, and political cartographies in Late Bronze Age souther Caucasia'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32(4), 691-712.

-Lindsey, B. 2015. *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website: Body & Mold seams. Retrieved on 18 September 2015 from Word Wide Web: http://sha.org/bottle/body.htm.*

-Lloyd, P.C. 1965. 'The political structure of African kingdoms'. In Bauer, *Political systems and the distribution of power.* In Banton, M. (ed) *Political systems and the distribution of power.* London: Routledge, 63-112.

-Lobban, R. 1979. *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape-Verde.* New Jersey/London: Scarecrow Press.

-Lopes, C. 1988. *Les Kaabunké: structures politiques et mutations.*Unpublished PhD thesis, Université Paris I.

-Lopes, C. 1990. 'Relaçoes de poder numa sociedade malinké: O Kaabu do séc. XIII ao séc. XVIII. *Soronda* 10, 17-26.

-Lopes, C. 1999. *Kaabunke: espaço, território e poder a Guiné Bissau, Gâmbia e Casamance pré-colonais.* Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

-Lopes, C. 2005. 'O Kaabu e os suos vizinhos: una leitura espacial e historica explicativa de conflitos'. *Afro-Asia* 32, 9-28.

-Lund, C. 2013. 'The past and space: on arguments in African land control' *Africa* 83(1), 14-35.

-Ly-Tall, M. 1981. 'Quelques precisions sur les relations entre l'Empire du Mali et le Gabou'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-MacDonald, K.C. 1988. 'The pottery of Dia and Jenne-Jeno: a technical analysis'. Unpublished BA thesis, Rice University.

-MacDonald, K.C. 1995. 'Analysis of the mammalian, avian, and reptilian remains'. In S. McIntosh (ed) *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 season.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 291-318.

-MacDonald, K. C. 1997. "Korounkorokalé revisited: The Pays Mande and the West African microlithic technocomplex." *African archaeological review* 14(3), 161-200.

-MacDonald, K.C. 1998. Before the empire of Ghana: pastoralism and the origins

of cultural complexity in the Sahel. In G. Connah (ed) *Transformations in Africa. Essays on Africa's Later Past.* London: Leicester University. Press, 71–103.

-MacDonald, K.C. 2011a. 'Betwixt Tichitt and the IND: the pottery of the Faïta Facies, Tichitt Tradition'. *Azania* 46(1), 49-69.

-MacDonald, K.C. 2011b. 'A view from the south: sub-Saharan evidence for contacts between North Africa, Mauritania, and the Niger, 1000 BC-AD 700'. In A. Dowler (ed). *Money, trade, and trade-routes in pre-Islamic North Africa.* London: British Museum Press.

-MacDonald, K.C. 2012. 'The least of their inhabited villages are fortified: the walled settlements of Segou'. *Azania* 47(3), 343-64.

-MacDonald, K.C. 2015. '"A chacun son Bambara", encore une fois: history, archaeology, and bambara origins'. In F. Richard & K.C. MacDonald (eds). *Ethnic ambiguity and the African past.* Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press.

-MacDonald, K.C., S. Camara, S. Canós Donnay, N. Gestrich, D. Keyta. 2009-2011. 'Sorotomo : a forgotten Malian capital ? *Archaeology International* 3/14, 2009- 2011, 53-65.

-MacDonald, K.C. & Camara, S. 2012. 'Segou, slavery and Sifinso'. In Monroe, J.C. and Ogundira, A. (eds) *State and society in West Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-MacDonald, K.C. & Hutton MacDonald, R. *In press.* 'Mammalian, avian, and reptile remains'. In R.J. McIntosh, S.K.McIntosh, & H. Bocoum (eds). *The search for Takrur, archaeological excavations and Reconnaissance along the Middle Niger Senegal Valley.* New Haven, Yale Universty Publications in Archaeology.

-McIntosh, R.J. 1988. *Peoples of the Middle Niger.* Oxford: Blackwell.

-McIntosh, R.J. 1998. *Peoples of the Middle Niger.* Malden, MA : Blackwell.

-McIntosh, S.K.1995a. *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 season.* Berkeley/LA: University of California Press.

-McIntosh, S.K. 1995b. 'West African Iron Age pottery studies from an Americanist perspective: a ceramic manifesto'. Paper presented at the 10th PanAfrican Congress, Harare.

-McIntosh, S.K. 1999. 'Pathways to complexity: an African perspective'. In McIntosh, S.K. (ed) *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa,* pp 31-8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-McIntosh, S.K., and R.J. McIntosh.1980. *Prehistoric Investigations in the Region of Jenne, Mali*. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology No. 2. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

-McIntosh, R.J. and S.K. McIntosh 1993a. 'Cities without citadels: Understanding urban origins along the Middle Niger'. In T. Shaw (ed) *The archaeology of Africa: Food, metals, and towns*. London: Routledge, 622-41.

-McIntosh, R.J. and S.K. McIntosh.1993b Field Survey in the Tumulus Zone of Senegal. *African Archaeological Review* 11:73-107.

-McIntosh, S.K, Gallagher, D., & McIntosh, R. J. 2003. 'Tobacco pipes from excavations at the Museum site, Jenné, Mali. *Journal of African archaeology* 1(2), 171-99.

-McIntosh, R.J., McIntosh, S.K. Bocoum, H. 2012. *Seeking the origins of Takrur: Excavations and survey in the Middle Senegal Valley*. New Have: Yale University Press.

-McNaughton, P.R. 1988. *The Mande blacksmiths: knowledge, power, and art in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

-Magnavita, S. 2003. 'The beads of Kissi, Burkina Faso'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 1(1): 127-138.

-Mage, M. 1868a. 'Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental'. *Le Tour du Monde* 17, 1-112.

-Mage, M.b 1868b. *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental (Sénégambie-Niger)*. Paris: Hachette.

-Mané, M. 1979. *Contribution à l'histoire du Kaabu, des origines au XIX siècle*. Dakar: IFAN.

-Mané, M. 1981. 'Les origines et la formation du Kaabu'. *Ethiopiques* 28.

-Mané, M. 1989. 'O Kaabu: uma das grandes entidades do Património Histórico Senegambiano'. *Soronda* 17, 17-30.

-Mark, P. 2003. *Djinns, stars, and warriors: Mandinka legends from Pakao, Senegal*. Leiden: Brill.

-Martin, V. and Becker, C. 1984. Inventaire des Sites Protohistoriques du Sénégal. Kaolack: C.N.R.S.

-Mateus, A.M. 1953. 'Nota preliminar acerca da estação pré-histórica de Nhampasseré (Guinea Portuguesa)'. *In Conferência internacional dos africanistas ocidentais : 2ª conferência, Bissau, 1947 : trabalhos apresentados à 3ª secção (meio humano)*. Lisboa : Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 377-

386.

-Mateus, A. 1954 'Acerca da Pré-História da Guiné'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 9(35), 457-79.

-Mattingly, D. 2004. 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting'. *Journal of Roman Archaeology,* 17(1), 5-25.

-Mauny, R. 1963. 'Contribution à la préhistoire et à la protohistoire de la région de Kédougou (Sénegal Oriental). *Bulletin de la Societé d'Anthropologie de Paris* 5, 113- 22.

-Mayor, A. 1996a. 'A la découverte d'Hamdallahi, capitale de l'Empire peul du Massina. In A. Gallay, E. Huysecom, A. Mayor, and G. de Ceuninck (eds) *Hier et aujourd'hui, des poteries et des femmes. Céramiques traditionnelles du Mali.* Geneva: Département d'anthropologie et d'écologie, 68-83.

-Mayor, A. 1996b. 'Hamdallahi, capital of the Fulani empire of Macina, Mali: a multidisciplinary approach' In G. Pwiti et R. Soper (eds). *Aspects of african archaeology. Papers from the 10th Congress of the Panafrican Association for Prehistory and Related Studies.* Harare : Univ. of Zimbabwe, 671- 680.

-Mayor, A. 1997. 'Les rapports entre la Diina peule du Maasina et les populations du Delta intérieur du Niger, vus au travers des traditions historiques et des fouilles archéologiques' In M. de Bruijn and J. van Dijk (eds). *Peuls et Mandingues: Dialectique des constructions identitaires. Actes du 3e Congrès international Mansa de Leiden*. Paris: Karthala, 33-60.

-Mayor, A. 2010. 'Ceramic traditions and ethnicity in the Niger Bend, West Africa'. *Ethnoarchaeology* 2(1), 5-48.

-Mayor, A., Huysecom, E., Gallay, A., Rasse, M. and Ballouche, A. 2005 'Population dynamics and Paleoclimate over the past 3000 years in Dogon country, Mali'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, 25-61.

-Mendes Corrêa, A.A. 1947. *Uma jornada científica na Guiné Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colonias.

-MOLAS 1994. *Archaeological Site Manual.* London: Museum of London.

-Monteil, C. 1929. *Les empires du Mali: étude d'histoire et de sociologie soudanaises.* Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

-Moore, F. 1738. *Travels into the inland parts of Africa: containing a description of the several nations for the space of six hundred miles up the river Gambia.* London: E. Cave.

-Morrison, K.D. 2001. 'Sources, approaches and definitions. In S.E. Alcock,T.T.

D'Altroy, K.D. Morrison, and C.M. Sinopoli (eds) *Empires: Perspectives from archaeology and history.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

-Moser, R.E. 1974. *Foregrounding in the Sunjata: The Mande Epic.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Indiana University.

-Murdock, G.P. 1959. *Africa: Its peoples and their culture history.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

-Murdoch, P. 1967. 'The Ethnographic Atlas : a summary'. *Ethnology* 6(2), 109-236.

-Mveng, R.P. 1981. 'Considerations generales sur le Colloque'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-N'Gaïdé, A. 1998. 'Strategies d'occupation de l'espace et conflits fonciers en Haute Casamance (Kolda, Sénégal)'. In G. Dominique & W. Annie (eds). *Le voyage inachevé...à Jöel Bonnemaison.* Paris: ORSTOM, 185-90.

-N'Gaïdé, A. 1999. 'Conquête de la liberté, mutations politiques, sociales et religieuses en Haute Casamance. Les anciens *maccu*ɓe du Fuladu (Region de Kolda, Senegal)'. In R. Botte, J. Boutrais, and J. Schmitz (eds) *Figures Peules.* Paris: Karthala.

-Niane, D.T. 1965. *Sundiata: an epic of old Mali.* London: Longmans.

-Niane, D.T. 1981a. 'Les sources orales de l'histoire du Gabu'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Niane, D.T. 1981b. 'Les derniers jours de Kansala' *Afrique histoire* 1, 34-6.

-Niane, D.T. 1989. *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest.* Paris: Khartala.

-Niang, M. 1981. 'Contribution à une esquisse bibliographique sur Kaabu'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Nyerges, A.E. 1996. 'Ethnography in the reconstruction of african land use histories: A Sierra Leone Example'. *Journal of the international African Institute* 66(1), 122-44.

-Nixon, S. 2008. 'The archaeology of Early Islamic trans-Saharan trading towns in West Africa: a comparative view and progressive methodology from the entrepot of Essouk-Tadmekka'. Unpublished PhD thesis, UCL.

-O'Brien, M.J. and Lyman, R.L. 2002. 'The epistemological nature of archaeological units' In *Anthropological Arhcaeology* 2(1), 37-56.

-Oliver, R.A. & Fage, J.D. 1962. *A short history of Africa.* Baltimore: Penguin Books.

-Opper, M.J. and H. Opper. 1989. 'Diakhité : a study of the beads from an 18th-19th century burial site in Senegal, West Africa' *Beads* 1, 5-20.

-Ortelius. 1570. *Africae Tabula Nova.* Antwerp.

-Ozanne, P. 1969. 'The diffusion of smoking in West Africa'. *Odu* 2, 29-42.

-Pacheco Pereira, D. 1956. *Esmeraldo De Situ Orbis: Côte occidentale d'Afrique du*

Sud Marocain au Gabon. Selected and translated from Portuguese by Raymond Mauny. Bissau : Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.

-Park, M. 1800. *Travels into the interior districts of Africa*. New York: J. Tiebout.

-Pauketat, T.R. 2007. *Chiefdoms and other archaeological delusions*. Lanham: Altamira Press.

-Péllissier, P. 1966. *Les paysans du Sénégal: les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Sant-Yrieix: Imprimerie Fabrègue.

-PEPAM. 2011. *Plan local d'hydraulique et d'assainissement-PLHA. Communauté rurale de Fafacourou*. Dakar : Ministère de l'Urbanisme, de l'Habitat, de l'Hydraulique, et de l'Assainissement.

-PEPAM. 2014a. 'Localité de Kandia'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10321018.

-PEPAM. 2014b. 'Localité de Cabendou'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web:http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10322013

-PEPAM. 2014c. 'Communauté Rural de Dabo'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idcr=10113

-PEPAM. 2014d. 'Localité de Samassandang'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10331038

-PEPAM. 2014e. 'Communauté Rural de Kandia'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web:http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idreg=10&idcr=10321.

-Person, I. 1981. 'Problemes de l'histoire du Gabou'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Peters, J. 1986a. *Osteomorphology and osteometry of the appendicular skeleton of Grant's* gazelle, *Gazella Granti* Brooke, 1872, Bohor Reedbuck, *Redunca redunca* (Pallas, 1767), and bushbuck, *Tragelaphus Scriptus* (Pallas, 1766). Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent.

-Peters, J. 1986b. *Osteomorphology and osteometry of the appendicular skeleton of* African buffalo, *Syncerus caffer* (Sparrman, 1779) and cattle, *Bos primigenius* F. *taurus* Bojanus, 1827. Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent.

-Philips, J.E. 1983. 'African smoking and pipes' *Journal of African History* 24(3), 303-19.

-Phillott Almeida, R. 1980. 'An outline history of Pachesi drawn from oral traditions'. Unpublished paper presented at *The First International Kaabu Colloquium,* Dakar.

-Phillot Almeida, R. 2011. *A succinct history of the kingdom of Pachesi in the*

Empire of Kaabu. Banjul: University of the Gambia.

-Picard, J. & Picard, R. 1986. *White hearts, feather and eye beads from the West African trade. Beads from the West African Trade IV.* Carmel (CA): Picard African Imports.

-Picard, J. & Picard, R. 1989. *Russian blues, faceted, and fancy beads from the West African trade. Beads from the West African Trade V.* Carmel (CA): Picard African Imports.

-Pinkerton. 1813. 'Western Africa'. In *Pinkerton's Modern Atlas*. London: Cadell & Davies.

-Platt, S. 2013. *"Their pipes are made of clay, ver neat, and of reddish colour": Local tobacco pipes during the Atlantic trade in the Senegambia.* Unpublished BA thesis, St Mary's College of Maryland.

-Pommegorge, P. de. 1789. *Description de la Nigrité*. Paris: Maradan.

-Porter, A. 2012 *Mobile pastoralism and the formation of Near Eastern civilizations: weaving together society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Prévost, A.F. 1759. *Histoire génerale des voyages* VI. Paris: Didot.

-Quinn, C. 1971. 'A Nineteenth Century Fulbe State'. *The Journal of African History* 12(3), 427-40.

-Quinn, C. 1972. *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

-Quiquandon, F. 1892. 'Histoire de la puissance mandingue d'après la légende et la tradition'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux* 2/15, 305-18.

-Raffenel, A. 1846. *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand.

-Rafferty, J.E. 1985. 'The archaeological record on sedentariness : recognition, development, and implications' *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, 113-56.

-Rassmussen, S. J. 1993. 'Joking in researcher- resident dialogue: the ethnography of

hierarchy among the Tuareg'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 66(4), 211-20.

-Ravisé, A. 1970. 'Industrie néolithique en os de Saint-Louis. *Notes Africaines* 128, 97-102.

-Ravisé, A.1975. 'Recensement De Sites Paléolithiques Et Néolithiques Du Sénégal'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 37(1), 234-245.

-Reid, A. 1996. 'Ntusi and the development of social complexity in southern

Uganda. In G. Pwiti and R. Soper (eds) *Aspects of African Archaeology. Papers from the 10th Congress of the PanAfrica Association for Prehistory and Related Studies*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.

-Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. 2004. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*. London: Thames & Hudson.

-Rice, P.M. 2005. *Pottery Analysis: a sourcebook*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

-Richard, F. G. 2007. *From Coosan to Colony: exploring archaeological landscape formations and socio-political complexity in the Siin (Senegal), AD-500-1900*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University.

-Richard, F.G. & MacDonald, K.C. 2014a. (eds) *Ethnic ambiguity and the African Past: materiality, history, and the shaping of cultural identities* Walnut Creek (CA) : Left Coast Press.

-Richard, F.G. & MacDonald, K.C. 2014b. 'From invention to ambiguity: the persistence of ethnicity in Africa. In F.G. Richard & K.C. MacDonald (eds) *Ethnic ambiguity and the African Past: materiality, history, and the shaping of cultural identities* Walnut Creek (CA) : Left Coast Press.

-Richards, W.A. 1980. 'The import of firearms into West Africa in the eighteenth century'. *Journal of African History* 21(1), 43-59.

-Roche, C. 1971. 'Portraits de chefs casamançais du XIXe siècle'. *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer* 58(213), 451-67.

-Roche, C. 1976. *Conquête et résistance des peuples de Casamance: 1850-1920*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.

-Roche, C. 1985. *Histoire de la Casamance : conquête et résistance : 1850-1920*. Paris: Karthala.

-Rodney, W. 1966. 'African slavery and other forms of social oppresion on the Upper Guinea Coast in the context of the Atlantic slave-trade'. *The journal of African History* 7(3), 431-43.

-Rodney, W. 1970. *A History of the Upper Guinean Coast, 1545-1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

-Rodrigues, M.d.C. 2012. 'Missão antropologica e etnológica da Guiné: Objectivos e resultados'. In *Atas do Colóquio Internacional Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau: Percursos do saber e da ciência*. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Cientifica e Tropical/Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas de Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

-Ronciere, C. de la. 1904a. *Historique du Fouladou, travail d'hivernage*. Dakar: Archives du Sénégal.

-Roncière, C. de la 1904b. *Renseignements sur la population du Fouladou*. Dakar: Archives du Sénégal.

-Rye, O.S. 1981. *Pottery technology. Principles and reconstruction*. Washington D: Taraxacum, Inc.

-Sabloff, & Smith. 1969. 'The importance of both analytic and taxonomic classification in the type-variety system'. *American Antiquity* 34, 278-86.

-Salvaing, B. 2006. 'Missions chrétiennes, christianisme et pouvoirs en Afrique noire de la fin du XVIIe siècle aux années 1960: permanences et évolutions'. *Outre-mers* 93(350-1), 295-333.

-Samb, A. 1981. 'L'Islam et le Ngabou'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Sane, M. 1981. 'Le Kukay ou l'initiation en milieu Mandinka du Kaabu'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Scarre, C. 2005. *The Human Past: World Prehistory and the development of human societies*. London: Thams & Hudson.

-Schmidt, A., Arazi, N., MacDonald, K., Cosme, F. and Bedaux, R. 2005. 'La potterie'. In R. Bedaux, J. Polet, K. Sanogo and A. Schmidt (eds) *Recherches archéologiques at Dia dans le Delta intérieur du Niger (Mali)*. Leiden: CNWS.

-Service, E.R. 1962. *Primitive social organization: an evolutionary perspective*. New York: Random House.

-Shennan, S. 1997. *Quantifying archaeology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

-Sidibe, B.K. 1972a. 'The story of Kaabu: its extent'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.

-Sidibe, B.K. 1972b. 'The story of Kaabu: Kaabu's relationship with the Gambia States'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.

-Sidibe, B.K. 1972c. 'The story of Kaabu: the fall of Kaabu'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.

-Sidibe, B.K. 1980. 'Tiramakang : Background to the migrations from Manding to Kaabu' *Proceedings of the First International Kaabu Colloquium*.

-Sidibe, B.K. 1984. *The Balde family of Fulaadu*. Banjul: Gambia Cultural Archives.

-Sidibe, B.K. 2004. *A brief history of Kaabu and Fulaadu: 1300-1930: a narrative based on some traditions of the Senegambia*. Torino/Paris: Harmattan.

-Skalnik, P. 1983. 'Questioning the concept of state in indigenous Africa. *Social*

dynamics 9(2): 11-28.

-Smith, A. 2003. *The political landscape: constellations of authority in early complex polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

-Smith, M.G. 1956. 'On segmentary lineage systems'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. 86(2), 39-80.

-Smith, M.L. 2005. 'Networks, territories, and the cartography of ancient states'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(4), 832-49.

-Soares Polini, R. 2012. *Expedições Arqueológicas nos territorios de Ultramar: uma visão da ciência e da sociedade portuguesa do período colonial*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade do Algarve.

-SOAS. 1972. *Papers presented to the International Conference on Manding Studies, 30 June-3 July 1972*.

-South, S. 1971. 'A comment on alkaline-glazed stoneware'. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 5 (171-185).

-Southall, A. 1999. 'The segmentary state and the ritual phase in the political economy'. In McIntosh, S.K. (ed) *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 31-8.

-Spaulding, A. 1953a 'Statistical techniques for the discovery of artifact types'. *American Antiquity* 18, 305-13.

-Spaulding, A. 1953b. 'Review of Ford's 'Measurements of some prehistoric design developments in the southeastern states' *American Anthropologist* 55(4), 588-591.

-Spaulding, A. 1954. 'Letters to the Editor'. *American Anthropologist* 56, 112-114.

-Spiers, S. 2012. 'The Eguafo polity: between the traders and the raiders'. In J.C. Monroe & A. Ogundiran (eds) *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115-41.

-Stahl, A.B. 2004. 'Political economic mosaics: Archaeology of the last two millennia in tropical sub- Saharan Africa' *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 33, 145–172.

-Stein, G. 2002. 'From passive periphery to active agents: Emerging perspectives in the archaeology of interregional interaction' *American Anthropologist,* 104(3), 903– 916.

-Suret-Canale, J. 1966. 'La fin de la chefferie en Guinée'. *Journal of African History* 7(3), 459-93.

-Takezawa, S. and M. Cissé. 2012. 'Discovery of the earliest royal palace in Gao

and its implications for the history of West Africa'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 208(4), 813-44.

-Tamari, T. 1991: 'The development of caste systems in West Africa'. *Journal of African History* 32, 221-50.

-Teixera da Mota, A. 1947. 'Cronologia e âmbito das viagens portuguesas de descoberta na África Ocidental de 1445 a 1462'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 3, 483-88.

-Teixera da Mota, A. 1960. 'Descoberta de bronzes antigos na Guiné Portuguesa'.*Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 15 (59), 625-33.

-Teixeira da Mota, A. 1981. 'Les rélations de l'ancien Gabou avec quelques états voisins'. *Ethiopiques* 29.

-Thiaw, I. 1999. 'Archaeological investigation of long-term culture change in the Lower Falemme (Upper Senegal Region) AD 500-1900'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Rice University.

-Thilmans, G., Descamps, C. and Khayat, B. 1980. *Protohistoire du Sénégal-1:Les sites mégalithiques*. Dakar: IFAN.

-Thilmans, G., and Ravisé, A..1980 *Protohistoire Du Sénégal, Tome Ii: Sintiou-Bara et les Sites du Fleuve*. Dakar: Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire.

-Thomas, N.W. 1920. 'Who were the Manes?'. *Journal of the Royal African Society,* 176-88.

-Togola, T. 2008. *Archaeological investigations of iron age sites in the Mema Region, Mali*. Cambridge: BAR.

-Trigger, B. 1972. 'Determinants of urban growth in preindustrial cities'. In P.J. Ucko, R.Tringham, and G.W. Dimbleby (eds). *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*. London: Duckworth, 575-99.

-Trigger, B. 2003. *Understanding Early Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Tymowski, M. 1981.'The army and the formation of the states of West Africa in the nineteenth century: the cases of Kenedugu and Samori state'. In H.C.Claessen & P. Skalnik (eds). The Hague: Mouton, 427-42.

-Van der Sleen, W.G.N. 1967. *A handbook on beads*. Liège: Musée du Verre.

-Van Neer, W. 1989. *Contribution to the archaeozoology of Central Africa*. Tervuren (Be): Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central.

-Vansina, J. 1962. 'A comparison of African kingdoms' *Journal of the International African Institute* 32(4), 324-35.

-Vansina, J. 1985. *Oral tradition as history.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

-Vansina, J. 2006. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology.* New Brunswick: Transaction.

-Villiers, A. 1958. *Tortues et crocodiles de l'Afrique Noire Française*. Dakar: IFAN.

-Welling, M. 2000/2011. 'On the significance of local clay pipes for African archaeology: presenting new finds and a typo-chronology from Mali. *Newsletter of the Department of pottery technology, Leiden University.* 83-116.

-White, G. 1971. 'Firearms in Africa: an introduction'. *Journal of African History* 12(2), 173-84.

-Wirth, L. 1938. 'Urbanism as a way of life'. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(1), 1-24.

-Woodburn, J. 1982. 'Egalitarian societies'. *Man* 17(3), 431-51.

-Wright, D.W. 1980. *Kaabu and Nyumi: a study of the impact of peoples of Kaabu on a Gambian Mandinka state with implications for further work in Western Mandinka history.* Unpublished pamphlet, Bibliothèque de Recherches Africaines, Paris.

-Wright, D.R. 1987. 'The epic of Kelefa Saane as a guide to the nature of precolonial Senegambian society'. *History in Africa* 14, 287-309.

-Wright, D.W. 1997. *The world and a very small place in Africa*. New York; London: M.E. Sharpe.

-Wright, D.W. 1999. 'What do you mean there were no tribes in Africa?': Thoughts on boundaries and related matters- in precolonial Africa' *History in Africa* 26, 409-26.

-Yoffee,N. 2005 *Myths of the archaic state: evolution of the earliest cities, states and civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-Zobel, C. 1996. 'The noble griot-the construction of mande *jeliw* identities and political leadership as interplay of alternative values'. In J. Jansen and C. Zobel (eds). *The younger brother in Mande: kinship and politics in West Africa*. Leiden: CNWS.

-Zucarelli, F. 1973. 'De la chefferie traditionnelle au canton: évolution du canton colonial au Sénégal-1855-1960. *Cahiers d'études africaines* 13(50), 213-38.